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The Classical Review

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The Classical Review

DECEMBER, 1915

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AENEID.

THE *Aeneid* is the unfinished work of the last ten years of Virgil's life; and he is said to have estimated that three years more would be required to complete it. There is little evidence as to the state in which he left his MS., or rather, perhaps, the different MS. copies which he kept by him and worked upon: and though it is probable that these were not destroyed by his executors, there is no record of any subsequent collation of them with the published text. The autograph (*idiographus liber Vergilii*) mentioned as extant by Aulus Gellius, about A.D. 165, as well as the *liber qui fuit ex domo atque familia Vergilii* collated by Hyginus within the generation after Virgil's death, may in each case have been only a MS. of the *Georgics*. So far as external evidence goes, it seems impossible to get behind the authorised text as issued by Varius and Tucca. The only important exceptions to this general statement are a few notes in the Servian Commentary (referred to henceforth, for the sake of brevity, simply as Servius). At *Aen.* III. 204 it quotes the three lines, *Hinc Pelopis gentes . . . circumsumimur undis*, and adds, *hi versus circumducti inventi dicuntur et extra paginam in mundo*. This note is tantalisingly brief: it does not tell us what the authority for this tradition was, nor whether the fact of the lines being so found was notified by Varius himself, or by some later scholar who had seen the original MS. Even more elusive is the note at VI. 289, which runs, *quidam dicunt versus alios*

hos a poeta hoc loco relictos, qui ab eius emendatoribus sublatis sint, and then gives the four lines, *Gorgonis in medio . . . vincula caudis*. It may be remarked that both these passages are thoroughly Virgilian in rhythm and diction.

Nor, either here or elsewhere, is there any information which throws light on the important question whether Varius published the *Aeneid* with or without any textual notes, or any preface explaining the way in which he had performed his editorial task. Even as to the general principles on which he and his co-editor proceeded our information is very scanty. Jerome (based on Suetonius) says that they *emendarunt sub lege ea ut nihil adderent*; and this statement is repeated somewhat more fully by Servius in the words, *Augustus . . . hac lege iussit emendare ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen*. Nisus the grammarian, according to Donatus, had heard a *senioribus*—that is to say, from Virgil's own contemporaries, or at least his contemporaries of the younger generation—that the four lines *Ille ego . . . Martis* at the opening of the poem were struck out by Varius. But whether the phrase *superflua demere* was meant to cover only passages in the Virgilian autograph which were inserted marginally or otherwise marked as tentative and subject to reconsideration, or whether it indicates that the editors were empowered to strike out, and did strike out, other passages which in their judgment were better omitted or could not be placed in the structure of the

poem, must remain a matter of conjecture. Nor is there any clear evidence how much latitude they allowed themselves in rearrangement of order, or how much discretion they exercised in the insertion of detached fragments in one place rather than another, or whether they struck out some of the more obvious *tibicines* while retaining those which they thought might pass muster. It is clear that they did not feel themselves called upon to remove repetitions or minor inconsistencies, as for instance the double slaying of Cretheus (IX. 774 and XII. 538), or the attribution in VII. 123 of the prophecy of Celaeno (III. 255) to Anchises.

In any case, the editorial work was done with great care and skill. It was indeed done so well that the *Aeneid* has ever since been more or less unconsciously regarded and handled as a finished work. This is the right side on which to err. But it is still possible, by the refined methods of modern analysis, to trace lines of fissure and planes of construction, and so to build up, though imperfectly, a sort of stereoscopic picture of the poem in its process of development. This is a subject which has not been thoroughly handled since Ribbeck's *Prolegomena*. It is unfortunate that Ribbeck's prosaic taste combined with defects in his scholarship to discredit not only the results which he put forward, but the method, in itself sound, by which he reached them. With sufficient skill and instinct, a good deal yet remains to be elicited from the internal evidence of the *Aeneid* itself with regard to the strata of material it embodies, the changes it underwent in the making, the development of Virgil's handling, and the state of relative completeness in which various parts of it were left.

The following notes are put forward in the hope of inducing students of Virgil to take up this inquiry and pursue it more fully as well as more closely. They deal with that preliminary part of it which concerns incomplete passages in the *Aeneid*. It is hoped, in a subsequent number of the *Classical Review*, to extend the inquiry to other parts of the subject; inconsistencies or repetitions, traces of the over-working of an

earlier draft, and inferences which may be drawn as to the relative date of different parts of the poem, and as to the changes which its scope and structure underwent in the author's mind. If an excuse is needed for dealing with such matters at such a time, it is this: that this study may lead to a finer and deeper appreciation of one of the greatest of poets, and thus help to preserve civilisation.

There are 55 unfinished lines in the *Aeneid*, or 56 if in V. 595 we reject the second half of the line, which is missing in P and M¹. The story of the second half of VI. 165 having been extemporised by Virgil when reading the passage aloud seems to point to an early MS. tradition in which this line was also left unfinished.

The unfinished lines are distributed over all twelve books. No safe conclusion can be drawn from their relative frequency. It is noticeable, however, that in VI. and XII., the two books in which the general workmanship is most elaborate, and in which Virgil is perhaps at his greatest, there is only one apiece. On the other hand, the largest number of all (9) is in II., which is also a book of extreme elaboration; it exceeds even the number (7) in III., a book which more obviously than most lacks the *ultima manus*, and bears the traces, as is highly probable, of the change of plan by which the story of the seven years' wanderings was transformed from direct narrative into narrative placed in the mouth of Aeneas when the composition of the poem had already made some progress.

As was noted by Donatus, all the hemistichs, except III. 340, give a complete sense. The theory that III. 340 is a deliberate aposiopesis, like the *Quos ego* of I. 135, is perhaps rather plausible than probable. But among the other 54 there are distinctions to be drawn.

1. Five are completely detachable, being mere notes marking the beginning or end of a speech (*Haec effata*, V. 653; *Rex prior haec*, VIII. 469; *Tum sic effatur*, IX. 295; *Cui Liger*, X. 580; *Turnus ad haec*, XII. 631). These might be called not so much incomplete lines as indications of lines to be inserted; they are *tibicines* in the full sense of the term.

2. Five more are also detachable, in the sense that while they continue, and add to, what precedes them, no gap and no abruptness of transition would be left if they were removed. These are *Munera laetitiamque dii*, I. 636; *Stans celsa in puppi*, III. 527; *Ergo iussa parat*, IV. 503; *Unum pro multis dabitur caput*, V. 815; *Audaces fortuna iuvat*, X. 284.

3. In no less than seventeen cases, the hemistich forms part of a passage of a line and a half which is similarly detachable. These are I. 559-60, II. 232-3, 345-6, 622-3, III. 660-1, IV. 399-400, 515-6, V. 573-4, VI. 93-4, 834-5, VII. 128-9, 438-9, 454-5, 759-60, VIII. 40-1, IX. 166-7, 720-1. It seems not unlikely that some at least of these passages were *marginalia* which the editors decided to incorporate into the text; and it is of course possible that they came to the contrary decision with other passages of a similar kind which have consequently disappeared.

4. In the twenty-eight cases left, the broken line is part of the structure of its context, and could not be removed without leaving a break in the sense or the connexion.

So far, we have been dealing with passages where the incompleteness is obvious and demonstrable, because there is a patent gap in the metre. But where Virgil left a passage incomplete, it does not follow that he broke off in the middle of a line. Where he stopped at the end of a line, and the syntax happened to be complete as it stood, the traces of incompletion (failing any mark of it left by him on his MS. and recorded by the editors) must be largely conjectural. Here a finer critical sense must be called in, which may, and sometimes does, seize the fact that the characteristic Virgilian evolution of thought or of rhythm is broken off prematurely. This is fascinating but slippery ground. But there are at least three passages in which incompletion of this kind seems almost certain; for apart from considerations of rhythm, it is really impossible to make sense out of them as they stand.

V. 317, *Simul ultima signant*. Here it is sufficient to remark, without com-

ment, the wild work made by commentators in their attempts to force a meaning out of the words.

VIII. 65, *Hic mea magna domus celsis caput urbibis exit*; here rhythm, no less than sense, calls for another line to complete the period; and the words of Aeneas in his reply, *quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis*, point in the same direction.

XII. 218, *Tum magis, ut propius cernunt non viribus aequis*. Here Ribbeck was unquestionably right in noting a *manca sententia*.

To these may be added, with less confidence, a few other passages which end with an abruptness unlike the characteristic Virgilian movement. Two of these are in Book VI.; 119-123, where not only is the syntax irregular without any clear reason for irregularity in the passion of what is said or in agitation of the speaker, but the final rhythm of *et mi genus ab Iove summo* leaves the ear unsatisfied; and 179-182, where *advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos* similarly leaves the cadence suspended (cf. for contrast the long smooth movement of *Georg.* III. 378, *Congestaque robora totasque advolvere focis ulmos ignique dedere*, and of *Aen.* XI. 135-8, *Everunt actas ad sidera pinus, | robora nec cuneis et olenem scindere cedrum, | nec plaustris cessant vectare gementibus ornos*). In this connexion it should be noted that it is a feature of the matured Virgilian style to continue the period a line further than where in the hands of a less potent master of rhythm it would conclude. This is also characteristic of Milton; in both poets it is this over-arching superflux of rhythm which gives their period its unique richness. In reading the *Aeneid* or *Paradise Lost* aloud (as both ought to be read) one has to be always on guard against concluding the cadence prematurely. Instances might be cited by the score; I give two from each poem, marking the 'superflux' in italic:

*Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penates,
Hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
Magna pererrato statuas quae denique ponto.*

*Quam densis frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
Angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.*

And good he made thee : but to persevere
He left it in thy power, ordained thy will
By nature free, not overruled by fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity.

Though heaven's King
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers
Used to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels
In progress through the road of heaven star-paved.

It is also, however, to be noted that in the later work of both Virgil and Milton there is some amount of reaction towards short and even broken rhythms. It is particularly marked in *Paradise Regained*. Instances in the *Aeneid* are XI. 635, *pugna aspera surgit*, and XII. 480, *volat avia longe*, both in sharp contrast to what may be called the normal Virgilian manner as illustrated by XI. 647,

dant funera ferro
Certantes, pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem;

or by XII. 369,

fert impetus ipsum
Et cristam adverso curru quatit aura volentem.

Indeed the occurrence of these short rhythms is, I think, like the deliberately paratactic construction in passages like XII. 355-8, *Sistit equos biuges, et . . . atque . . . et . . . et . . . atque*, a sign of late composition, and an element in determining the relative date of different parts of the *Aeneid*.

These considerations bear upon two lines of notorious difficulty: VI. 383, *gaudet cognomine terrae* [*terra*], and XII. 790, *Adsistunt contra certamine* [*certamina*] *Martis anhel.* In both, the variant readings of the MSS. are due to the fact that the language is abrupt and the syntax obscure. They may be instances of Virgil's later 'short-hand notation'; but in both, incompleteness at the end of the line may also, and perhaps with equal probability, be suspected.

Further, a passage may be incomplete, not only because it breaks off prematurely whether in the middle or at the end of a line, but also because its beginning is wanting. More than once we find in the *Aeneid* a paragraph which is 'finished' in the sense of reaching its full conclusion, but which begins abruptly, and wants one or more lines

prefixed in order to engraft it into its place in the poem. A good instance is X. 747-754. This is a detachable passage of fighting, containing a number of otherwise unknown or unimportant names. It has no special relevance where it stands, beyond the fact that some paragraph, of this kind or of another, is needed, as the transition from the *Aristeia* of Mezentius (ll. 689-746) to the episode in which both he and Lausus are slain by Aeneas, and which fills the remainder of the book. The lines were written as the material for such a paragraph, and in his final revision Virgil would (unless he had preferred to replace them by something else) no doubt have 'written them on' by prefixing one or more lines of connexion. This kind of case is quite parallel to the other, already noted, in which a speech is temporarily left in the air with a mere note of a couple of words for the introductory line (or lines) before it, or for the continuing and connecting line (or lines) after it (*Turnus ad haec*, or *Haec effata*). Other instances, less immediately obvious, are VIII. 81-5, five lines describing the sacrifice of the sow and her litter to Juno, which are thrust into the middle of an otherwise continuous narrative, and interrupt the close connexion between ll. 79, 80 and ll. 86 sqq.; and the passage beginning, *Infrenant alii currus* XII. 287, unless we take the preceding line and a half (*fugit ipse Latinus pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos*) to be a rather awkward parenthesis.

Once more, there may be a gap, of one or more integral lines, discernible in the middle of a sentence. This is generally admitted in VI. 601-3:

Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque
Quo super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
Imminet adsimilis.

This, the reading of R, is generally accepted by modern editors; and, if so, both sense and grammar require the insertion of a line preceding this one and introducing Tantalus. Hirtzel's Oxford text marks a lost line. The reading *Quos super* of the other principal MSS. satisfies grammar, but makes nonsense, as the overhanging stone and the untouchable banquet would thus

apply to the persons mentioned in l. 601, the Lapithae, Ixion, and Pirithous. But that line itself is not in place; the wheel of Ixion, and the seat of Theseus, whose crime was perpetrated and punished jointly with Pirithous, come later (ll. 616-7), after the general statement of ll. 608-14. In this same passage, the difficult if not impossible

Ne quaere doceri

Quam poenam aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit

suggests another incompleteness of an even more subtle and undetectable kind; the absence, that is to say, of a whole line, not however an integral line, but one consisting (as happens in copyists' work) of the end of one line and the beginning of the next:

Ne quaere doceri

Quam poenam aut . . .
. . . quae forma viros fortunave mersit.

A similar suspicion is aroused by the harsh and awkward wording of XII. 161. It seems not impossible that what Virgil wrote there, as he meant it, was

Interea reges . . .

. . . ingenti mole Latinus

Quadruiugo vehitur curru.

There are pretty plainly passages where the author's MS. gave (or had notes for) alternative readings, and it was not clear what his own final choice would have been. In these the editors presumably published either what appeared to them to be his own latest version, or what they thought the best of the alternatives indicated: but as to this, conjecture is idle. There are a few cases in which they seem to have published both of two lines which were really alternatives. Such a duplication has long been suspected in *Georg.* IV. 291-2:

Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
Et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena.

But there is a much more probable instance in *Aen.* V. 603-4. At the end of the elaborate and very highly finished account of the *ludus Troiae* (the game

of the sow and the little pigs), Virgil passes on to the destruction of the fleet at the instigation of Juno. This new episode begins with l. 605:

Dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis
Irim de caela misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem.

But it is preceded by two separate single lines, each complete in itself:

Hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.

Neither line is necessary for sense or connexion. It is highly probable that they are two alternative suggestions written in the margin by Virgil for consideration, one below the other, and that the Editors, finding them there and neither of them 'ringed,' put them both in as they were.

Distinct from the kinds of incompleteness hitherto discussed are the passages where difficulty arises from the Virgilian autograph having been left indistinct or ambiguous rather than strictly incomplete; where, that is to say, it gave suggestions of variant readings without making it clear which Virgil had decided to adopt. Under this head seem to come three well-known cruxes: IV. 436, *Quam mihi cum dederit [dederis] cumulatam [cumulata] morte remittam [relinquam]*: VII. 307, *Quod scelus aut Lapithas [Lapithis] tantum aut Calydone [Calydone] merentem [merente, merentes]*: and VII. 543, *Deserit Hesperiam et caeli convexa [convexa] per auras*. In this last passage *convexa* is the reading of all the good MSS. except M¹, and also of Asper, Donatus, Probus, and Servius; but it is unintelligible. We may surmise that in the autograph the line stood:

Deserit Hesperiam et caeli convexa
convexa per auras;

and it may even be that Virgil meant to expand the single line into two by inserting words between *convexa* and *convexa*.

J. W. MACKAIL.

PINDAR, PYTHIAN II. 90 FF.

στάθμας δέ τινος ἐλκόμενοι
περισσᾶς ἐνέπαξαν ἔλκος ὀδυναρὸν ἐᾶ
πρόσθε καρδία
πρὶν ὅσα φροντίδι μητιῶνται τυχεῖν.

IT is not necessary to discuss in detail the many and fantastic interpretations which have been offered. That task has been performed by Professor Norwood in *Class. Quart.* ix. 1, January, 1915. Mr. R. G. Bury, in *Class. Rev.* xxix. 3, May, 1915, having adequately disposed of Mr. Norwood's own 'excessively long sword,' has presented Pindar with a 'long chariot-pole' for which there is no lexicographical evidence. I venture, in turn, to offer a very small emendation.

Editors have complained that the pun ἐλκόμενοι ἔλκος is frigid. So it is if ἐλκόμενοι introduces a new and unexpected metaphor; but not, I think, if it is already a commonplace for Pindar's audience that persons who are φθονεροί are persons who always ἔλκονται. Well, a commonplace it is:

Theognis 30—

πέπνυσσο, μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι
μηδ' ἀδίκουσι
τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἔλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος.

Euripides *fr.* 419 N—

βία νυν ἔλκετ', ὦ κακοὶ, τιμὰς, βροτοὶ,
καὶ κτᾶσθε πλοῦτον, παντόθεν θηρώμενοι,
σύμμικτα μὴ δίκαια καὶ δίκαι' ὁμοῦ.
ἔπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος.

That is from a speech which is probably concerned with a tyrant's rise and fall (see *fr.* 420 N).

Plato, *Rep.* v. 464 B. Communism makes our guardians μὴ διασπᾶν τὴν πόλιν . . . τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν ἔλκοντα ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων κήσασθαι . . .

For the idea, which is specially applied to the grasping ambitions of kings or of those who plot against kings, see my note on Eur. *H. F.* 773 ff. in *Class. Rev.*, May, 1915. The use of ἔλκομαι, in the sense 'I drag to myself . . .', 'I am on the make . . .', lies behind Hesiod's τῆς δὲ δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης ἢ κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωσι δωρόφαγοι (*Op.* 220),

which Headlam rightly quotes when he reads, in *Eum.* 555, τὰ πολλὰ ἄγοντα παντόφυρτ' ἄνευ δίκας βιαίως. So Pindar's scandalous νόμος, which ἀγει δικαίων τὸ βιαίωτατον, is, for Callicles and men like him, Nature's law. See Thompson's note on *Gorgias* 484B, and notice especially 488 B, ἀγειν βία . . . καὶ ἀρχεῖν καὶ πλέον ἔχειν . . . It is worth noticing that in Callimachus *h. Ap.* 109 Φθόνος is appropriately rebuked by an allusion to his own characteristic method of grab: the great river τὰ πολλὰ . . . ἔλκει, including rubbish. Remember also Hesiod, *Op.* 37, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ ἀρπάζων ἐφόρεις, and notice that the traditional notion of the greedy usurper or plotter has its roots in Homeric human nature, *Il.* ii. 122, 149, 170, 231. The suspicions of Creon and of Oedipus are derived from the same stock of ideas (*Soph. Ant.* 312, 326; *O.T.* 382, 388, and the much misunderstood chorus, 873, 889).

Now, the scholiast saw that this was the notion. He had our text before him, and valiantly tried to interpret it. Editors do him less than justice when they curtly dismiss him with: 'he thinks of a measuring-line,' or 'he speaks of land and measuring.' Still more unjust is the innuendo that he thought of so odd a performance, with so odd a line, and so curiously περισσᾶς (stretched over more space than it ought to cover), as Professor Gildersleeve has invented. The scholiast sees that ἐλκόμενοι must be something that the envious normally do, that the phrase must refer to the frustrated designs, and that περισσᾶς must somehow imply that the φθονεροὶ try to get too much . . . they come to grief before they get ὅσα φροντίδι μητιῶνται. So he boldly asserts: τὸ δὲ στάθμας φροντίδος, and proceeds: σταθμώμενοι, φησί, καὶ περιγράφοντες μεγάλα τινα μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, προωδυνήθησαν πρὶν τυχεῖν ὧν ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν.

With the text as it stands nothing better has been suggested. Let us be just to the scholiast. He knows that στάθμη is a line of some sort, not

a chariot-pole, nor a halter, nor a ram, nor a balance, nor a weight; he knows that *περισσᾶς στάθμας* does not mean 'a line stretched too tight,' or 'a mark too far off,' but an *excessive line*: and I think he knows that *ἐλκόμενοι* means 'grabbing their gain.' His word *περιγράφοντες* should inform us that he is not just vaguely 'thinking of a measuring line,' nor vaguely 'speaking of land and measuring.' You put a line round land to mark it off as your own, staking out, as we say, a claim. If you went, as spectator or as merchant, to a Panegyris, you appropriated, with due formality, a plot for your tent or your stall: see Aristophanes, *Pax* 879, with the scholiast's explanation. When a mad king said, 'I give you the sun for your pay,' an astute boy cried, 'We accept your gift, O king!' then drew a line round the patch of sunshine on the floor, thereby claiming as his own, not the sun, but the hearth and home upon which it shone (Hdt. viii. 137). Such a line Heracles drew when he appropriated (for Zeus) the Altis at Olympia, making the measure of it, I suspect, the extent of the ground covered by the booty he had won from Augeas and his nephews: that is the truth which in *Ol.* x. 47-65 Time and Pindar reveal! The reading, 'Ἄλιν, though it was quite rightly rejected by Aristodemus and his friends, may help dim eyes to see that, according to Pindar, Heracles called the precinct Altis, instead of Alsos, because the word recalled his triumph over 'Ἄλις: a theory, we may be sure, that the Eleians would not trouble to keep alive. But *περιγράφοντες* is creditable to the scholiast for another reason too. Out of the notion of 'marking off' a piece of land, there grew the metaphorical use 'to limit,' 'to circumscribe,' and the association with that 'Due Measure' which the *φθονεοί* always ignore. Follow this word from Thuc. vii. 49 to Xen. *Mem.* i. 4, 12, and Aristotle, *Metaphys.* x. 7, 1, and Diodor. iii. 16 (the Ichthyophagoi, who eat οὐ πρὸς μέτρον ἢ σταθμόν . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκάστου βούλησιν, τὴν φυσικὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχοντες τῆς ἀπολαύσεως περιγραφῇ), and Polyb. 21. 11, 4. Notice that in Plat. *Leg.* 768C *περιγραφῇ* means,

not merely 'an outline sketch,' but 'a line, including and excluding': τὰ μὲν εἴρηκε, τὰ δὲ ἀπολείπει σχέδον.

The scholiast, then, treats the phrase as a lyrical variant for παντόθεν ἐλκόμενοι, ἐξ ἀπάντος κερδαίνοντες. The genitive is what Professor Gildersleeve calls a 'whence-case': στάθμας means 'a measured line': περισσᾶς means 'too long,' and therefore 'enclosing too large an area': the effect, to those who are familiar with στάθμη as the Just Line, the Line of Right, is a sort of *oxymoron*, for which *τινος* apologises ('what I may call an excessive limit-line'). The phrase means something like 'trying to grab their gain from too wide a field.' The *φθονερός* treats the world as his oyster.

As compared with the imaginations of modern learning, this interpretation is simple and sensible. But I doubt whether it can stand. *στάθμας* is not exactly *περιγραφῇ*, and the notion of 'drawing one's gain from a given area' is not naturally expressed in a phrase which substitutes the line for the space enclosed: above all, we need an object for ἐλκόμενοι. I therefore suggest—

στάθμας δέ τινες ἐλκόμενοι
περίσσ' αἶεν, ἔπαξαν.

I suggest that *τινες* became *τινος* and *περισσαί* became *περισσᾶς*. The meaning now is perfectly clear. And the whole poem gains in effect.

Hiero is a fortunate prince: of course he must be duly reminded of the limitations of his mortality. But Pindar is able to wrap up that safe, conventional, and expected moral, in verses which denounce the enemies and rivals of the prince. It is worth while to notice how he achieves this end:

15 ff. Cinyras, a king and favourite of Aphrodite and Apollo, is celebrated by grateful Cyprians:

18. So Hiero, friend of Ares, Artemis, Hermes, Poseidon, is sung by grateful Epizephyrian maidens:

21 ff. And gratitude is the lesson Ixion had to learn and teach.

25 ff. He was admitted to the society of the gods, and his head was turned:

30. His crimes were the shedding of kindred blood—not with-

out treacherous craft, and the attempt on the bride of the All-Highest. He did not observe the Mean in his desires. (Surely there is no doubt of the political application here?)

39. But Zeus outwitted the crafty, with fatal results to him and his offspring!

49. God accomplishes all according to his intent and expectation . . . he brings down the proud and gives glory to others. My business, however, is to avoid evil-speaking, which, as Archilochus found, does not pay. To be rich—given material good-luck—in Wisdom, is the best.

See how skilfully the theme of human limitations is introduced. Ostensibly it illustrates the fate of men like Hiero's rivals. But, for an audience which knows the lyrical method, it is the reminder also to the prince that the gods alone are always happy, strong, and safe. That is why the poet insists that he is no evil-speaker. And he sums up, for the moment, the delicate and flattering warning with his praise of Wisdom and Good Fortune. We need not analyse the next passage, but should notice that the evil-speakers of l. 61 who 'wrestle but achieve nothing, fools and empty-minded,' like Ixion, (26) are duly contrasted with the gods (49).

When the praise of Hiero has been performed, we pass to the famous attack upon false friends and evil-plotters. Hiero is advised to 'be his own good self, having been informed' by the poet how much that means! He is also to prefer the candid truthfulness of Pindar to the flattery of those who, behind his back, will slander him and plot against him. In effect, of course, Pindar is the most egregious flatterer of them all; but this is how he wraps his flattery in a cloak of candour:

72. Now I have told you what you are: your task is to be yourself! Like Rhadamanthus, be an honest man, preferring honesty like mine to the monkey-tricks that children admire, the cunning that the whispering plotters practice when they fawn.

76. The slanderer's whisper hurts himself as well as his victim. Oh, yes, of course, he's as crafty as a fox . . . but does it really pay?

79. No, nothing comes of it. Honest I ride the waves like a cork! And crafty persons really lose all influence—with excellent rulers like yourself. Though, of course, they go on fawning and twisting and plotting.

84. I am not so brazen and so rash. I am one that would really love my friends . . . reserving my cunning for enemies, whom I shall pursue as relentlessly as a wolf,¹ and cunningly too. Such straightforward candour as mine is the road to true success in every kind of city.

Notice that the common objection to the morality of 84 ff. arises partly from a failure to appreciate the poem as a whole. The backbiters and plotters here in question are ungrateful people who, like Ixion-Polyzelus, have the privilege of admission to the society of the great, pretend to be friends, flatter, and yet bite. When Professor Gildersleeve asserts that 'Requital in full is antique; crooked ways of requital are not Pindaric,' he seems to imply a curious mistranslation of *πάν ἔρδοντα*, which he has just quoted (*Isth.* iii. 66). The Greek view, and the Pindaric view, is well expressed by Xen. *Ages.* xi. 4: *τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἐξαπατωμένους οὐκ ἔψεγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάνπαν κατεμέμφετο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶν, σοφὸν ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ πιστεύοντας ἀνόσιον.*

This brings us to our final *epode*: Candour is best policy, to speak truth, without flattery, without slander. 'And one should not strive against the god who to-day holds high the fortunes of one set of mortals, to-morrow gives to others great honour.' We have heard that before, at ll. 49-52, and there also this gentle reminder of human limita-

¹ The fox is treacherous; the wolf, though savage and cunning, is an open enemy, Aristotle *H.A.* I, 1, 32 *γενναῖα καὶ ἀγρία καὶ ἐπιβουλα*, Artemidorus II. 12, p. 69 *πανούργον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὁμῶς χωροῦντα*, the characteristic in which he differs from the fox.

tions was coupled with the plea that Pindar is an honest friend, no slanderer. Was my interpretation there at fault? Well, what do you make of the next remark? 'But not even this makes the jealous less embittered.' Not even what? Surely, the thought that even princes are human, exposed to human vicissitude like themselves. 'Still, though they are so implacable, there are some people I could name who, because they are always trying to grab more than is right' (this recalls 34 μέτρον ὀρᾶν) 'hurt themselves before they get the great things for which they

scheme.' Then, finally, we repeat the old moral, suggested first in 49-52, repeated for Hiero and Pindar in 38, now clearly meaning that Pindar and all wise men, unlike the φθονεροί, will treat the prince as the prince himself will treat the gods; for, as Ixion was admitted to the high society of the gods, and proved ungrateful, so Pindar 'in his intercourse with the good' prays that he may have the grace to please them.

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PLUTARCHI MORALIA.

(Continued from Vol. XXVII., p. 262.)

385 C. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, ἔφη, τὸ ζητεῖν, τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν. Read τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, ἔφη, καὶ (or καὶ τοῦ) ζητεῖν <ἀρχή> (or <αἴτιον>) τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν.

387 C. εἰ τοῦτο ἔστι, τότε προηγείται. Rather προήγεται.

388 F. ὀνομάζεται δὴ? Had it not been for hiatus, the δὴ would probably have followed κόσμος.

392 D. Write καὶ for ἡ before μισοῦμεν.

395 C. ὦν (gold, silver, and bronze) συγχυθέντων καὶ συντακέντων ὄνομα τοῦ χαλκοῦ τῷ μείζονι τὸ πλῆθος παρέσχευ.

τῷ μείζονι is unintelligible, for it certainly cannot mean 'the whole mass' nor (Bernardakis) 'by its predominance.' Write τῷ ἀμείνονι. The better metal was called by the name of the predominant: its own name (or names) did not appear. For the correction compare my *Aristophanes and Others*, p. 233. With τοῦ χαλκοῦ we might rather expect τὸ ὄνομα than ὄνομα.

397 B. ἡδονὴν γὰρ οὐ προσέεται τὸ ἀπαθεῖς καὶ ἄγνόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα (on earth) μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐρρίφη καὶ τὸ πλείστον αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς εἰκεν εἰς τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνερρήκεν, and again a few lines below λόγου περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύσας.

In this passage, which relates to music and singing, μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς and in a less degree περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς have been found very obscure. Steph-

nus conjectured μετὰ τῆς ὥδης. Bernardakis reads μετὰ τῆς Ἄτης, which seems (Wytténbach) to have slight authority; and again below λόγου περὶ Ἄτης καὶ ἡδονῆς from Duebner's conjecture. Ἄτη is however grotesquely out of place in this context. αὐτῆς is nothing in the world but a corruption of λύπης. Pleasure and pain were excluded from higher and purer regions and exist only on earth. The same corruption occurs elsewhere. In *Ar. Eth.* 9. 9. 1170^a 25 K^b has αὐτῆς for λύπης (Bywater, *Textual Crit.* p. 14). Dio Chrys. *de Concord.* 10 φέρει αὐτὴν καὶ φθόνον has been corrected by Wilamowitz to φέρει λύπην. Galen, quoting Posidonius, has ἄτης, *de Hipp. et Plat. plac.* 4. 7. p. 416, where, as many scholars have seen, λύπης must be restored. Read then μετὰ τῆς λύπης and περὶ λύπης καὶ ἡδονῆς.

401 F. συναγαγόντες ὅσον ἀργύριον.

The suggested ὅσιον ἀργύριον (Madvig) or ὅσον ἦν ὅσιον ἀργύριον would be a misuse of ὅσιον, for in such a case it means *profane*, the exact contrary of *sacred*. But it is likely enough that after the last letters of ἀργύριον the word ἱερόν has been lost, though it can hardly have stood alone without εἶχον or ἦν αὐτοῖς, or something similar.

404 C. δύνασθαι for δυναμένη?

407 D. πραγμάτων must have had some epithet or defining word attached

to it, e.g. *μεγάλων*, though probably not precisely that. *ὥσπερ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ νομοθετοῦντι* should be corrected not to *τῷ Εὐ.* *ὥσπερ ν.*, but, by way of avoiding hiatus, to *ὥσπερ ν. τῷ Εὐ.*

409 F. *οὔτε γὰρ ἦν γαίης μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης· εἰ δέ τις ἔστι, θεοῖς δῆλος, θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος.*—Epimenides. The absence of any apparent reason for *ἦν* by the side of *ἔστι* suggests *οὐ τις ἄρ' ἦν*. But *ἦν* may possibly be the idiomatic 'philosophical' imperfect, as for instance Plato, *Rep.* 609 B, *τούτου δλεθρος οὐκ ἦν. οὐδέ* should probably be *οὔτε*.

410 A. *φιλοθεάμενον <ὦν>.*

413 A. *θαυμαστὸν γὰρ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.* is not an ironical statement, which would be feeble, but a question. Perhaps *γὰρ* should be *ἄρ'.* *καὶ τότε* should be, I think, *καὶ τοῦτο* rather than Madvig's *καὶ τότε*. The tense of *ἀπείρηκεν* shows that *τότε* cannot be right. Possibly *καὶ πρότερον*.

415 C. In Hesiod's lines

*τρῆς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόραξ γηράσκεται·
αὐτὰρ ὁ φοῖνιξ
ἐννέα τούς κόρακας, δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τούς
φοῖνικας,*

the two uses of *τούς* are almost certainly wrong (their force would be 'the crows with which the phoenix is coeval are ten in number'), but it is not easy to see where they came from or satisfactorily to alter them. Perhaps we need not assume that both represent the same word. Rzach's *ἐννέα μὲν κόρακας, δέκα φοῖνικας* δέ *τοι ἡμεῖς* does not commend itself, *μὲν* being much misplaced and *τοι* weak after *δή. δή* and *καί* would seem not unsuitable (*ἐννέα δὴ . . . καὶ φοῖνικας*).

424 B. *οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ, not οὔτε . . . οὔτε.*

439 E. *ὁ Ἀριστιππος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος 'πανταχοῦ σὺ ἄρ' εἶ;' γελάσας 'οὐκοῦν' ἔφη 'παραπόλλυμι τὸ ναῦλον, εἴ γε πανταχοῦ εἰμι.' τί οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἴποις καὶ αὐτός 'εἰ μὴ γίγνονται μαθήσει βελτίονες ἄνθρωποι, παραπόλλυται ὁ μισθὸς τῶν παιδαγωγῶν';*

In the question and Aristippus' answer thus given there is no meaning, as far as I can see, nor is there any analogy in the use then made of the illustration. Something must be missing which corresponded to the *μή . . .*

βελτίονες of the other case. *πανταχοῦ σὺ <ὁ αὐτός> ἄρ' εἶ* would give a sense to the passage, but does not satisfy me, especially as *εἴ γε πανταχοῦ εἰμι* seems to need a similar insertion. One would like to connect the words with what Aristippus says in Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 13: *ξένος πανταχοῦ εἰμι*, but *ξένος* would not fit in here properly.

440 D. *περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς λεγομένης καὶ δοκούσης, ᾧ δὲ μάλιστα τῆς θεωρητικῆς διαφέρει, τῷ τὸ μὲν πάθος ὕλην ἔχειν τὸν δὲ λόγον εἶδος, εἰπεῖν πρόκειται κ.τ.λ.*

καὶ δοκούσης has here no meaning. Probably Plutarch wrote *καὶ δοκούσης τῷδε μάλιστα τῆς θεωρητικῆς διαφέρειν, τῷ κ.τ.λ., τῷ κ.τ.λ.* explaining *τῷδε*.

442 A. *ἐξ <ἀρχῆς τοῦ κρατήσοντος> ἑαυτοῦ δεόμενον? κρατεῖν* occurs just above.

479 C. *ζητοῦμεν ᾧ τὰ τοῦ βίου πιστεύσομεν* would run a little better than *ᾧ πιστεύσομεν τ.τ.β.*

481 C. *τὰ <μὲν> συμπαγέντα.*

481 F. *τὰ πλείστα φωρῶν αἰσχροῖα φωράσεις βροτῶν.*—Sophocles.

F. G. Schmidt doubted whether the error lay in *φωρῶν* or *φωράσεις*. The latter is perfectly proper here, while the former is misused. With *τὰ πλείστα* we want a word in the general sense of *examining* or *experiencing*, certainly not of *detecting*. He suggested *ἐφορῶν*. But, as *φωρῶν* is evidently a mere anticipation of *φωράσεις*, there is no need for the real word to resemble *φωρῶ* very closely in letters. Cf. on 500 A. and 528 F. I think there cannot be much doubt that it was *πειρῶν making trial*, which is fairly near.

483 E. *ἀνδραπόδου τιμὴν πλέον ἔχοντες. Read τιμῇ, 'more by the price of a slave.'*

493 B-E. This first chapter of *The Love of Offspring* is very faulty. In c *ζητεῖν ἐν ἵπποις καὶ κυσὶ καὶ ὕρμισι πῶς γαμοῦμεν αὐτοὶ καὶ γεννώμεν καὶ τεκνοτροφοῦμεν* requires *γαμῶμεν* and *τεκνοτροφῶμεν*, deliberative subjunctives. With *τὰ τῶν θηρίων κ.τ.λ.* the construction wholly breaks down. I conjecture that before *τὰ τῶν θ.* something is lost, e.g. *καὶ ἀναγκάζειν* or *ἀναγκάζοντας*, going on from *ζητεῖν* and governing what follows. *πρσαγορεύσαι* is unsuitable, and should be *προαγορεύσαι*. The sense will then be 'causing animals to pro-

claim and attest a great departure on our part from what is natural.'

Ten lines below read <δι> ἐτέρων ὀρέξιν.

τοῖς δὲ ζῷοις τὸ μὲν πραύτροπον τοῦ λόγου καὶ περιττὸν καὶ φιλελεύθερον ἄγαν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλόγους δ' ὀρμάς καὶ ὀρέξεις ἔχοντα καὶ χρώμενα πλάναις καὶ περιδρομαῖς πολλάκις οὐ μακρὰν ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγκύρας τῆς φύσεως σαλεύει· καθάπερ οὖν ὁδὸν ὑφ' ἡνία καὶ χαλινῷ βαδίζοντα δεικνύειν εὐθείαν.

πραύτροπον gives a quite inappropriate meaning and does not harmonise at all with περιττὸν and φιλελεύθερον. What we want is the idea of licence and extravagance. τὸ παράτροπον τοῦ λόγου would seem to be what Plutarch wrote: not departure from reason, but the distorted, extravagant forms of reason itself. So he writes in the next sentence ὁ δὲ δεσπότης ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ αὐτοκράτης λόγος ἄλλας ἄλλοτε παρεκβάσεις καὶ καινοτομίας ἀνευρίσκων κ.τ.λ., where the παρεκβάσεις on reason's part answer exactly to τὸ παράτροπον τοῦ λόγου.

Plutarch has παρατρέπω and παρατροπή fairly often, παράτροπος in *Lyander* 12.

After οὐ μακρὰν a verb (*departs, diverges*) has dropped out. *σαλεύει* does not suit it, and zeugma is unlikely. The last words have got out of order. ὁδὸν οὖν καθάπερ for καθάπερ οὖν ὁδὸν would put it right.

497 B. οὐχ ὁμοίους, not οὐχ ὁμοίως.

498 C. τριβόμενος ἐν τισιν ἐλπίσιν.

Is not an adjective missing before τισίν? *τις* with an adjective is very familiar, while *τισίν* alone here seems needless and weak.

499 A. Τύχη, | πενίαν ἀπειλείς; καταγελά σου Μητροκλῆς has all the appearance of verse.

1b. E. εἰὰν τετρωμένοις ἐπεισενεχθῇ μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπόλλυνσι τῷ προσπεπον· ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀπορροὴν δεχομένων.

Read *προπεπονῶσι*. *προσπάσχω* is out of place, whereas *προπ.* suits *τετρωμένοις* exactly. *προσ-* and *προ-* above in 493 B-E.

500 A. ποιεῖ, which is evidently wrong, comes from *ποιήση* in the line before. Cf. on 481 E. The real word therefore may have been very different.

513 A. Read *δέξονται* for *δέχονται*.

525 A. Ἀπολλων, ἀνθρώπων τίν' ἀθλιώτερον | ἑώρακας ἢ ἐρώντα δυσποτμώτερον;—Menander?

Bernardakis gives ἦ without comment, though it does not scan. Other edd. have ἀρ', and it is not apparent what the evidence is. I do not see any sufficient reason for thinking that these two lines must belong to the same passage as that from which Plutarch has quoted just before, and ἐρώντα is entirely out of keeping with the immediate context, where he is speaking of the troubles of a parsimonious householder, not of a lover. ἡ γέροντα would to my mind be more in place.

525 E. Perhaps *σαντὸν στροβεῖς*, | *κοχλίου βίον ζῶν*.

528 B. μεταμφεινύουσι πάντας?

1b. F. As far as I can make out, ὅφιν in Bernardakis' text is an error of the press for ἦτον. It would be due to ὄψεως occurring just before, and well illustrates the tendency to repetition of a word which I have assumed above on 481 E and 500 A.

529 C. *προσαγάγῃ* should be *προσάγῃ*, 'when he is applying it.'

536 A. *πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαινούντων ὡς μόνους ἀνδρας καὶ μόνους ἀκολακεύτους καὶ νῆ Δία στόματα καὶ φωνὰς προσαγορευόντων*.

What is there in *στόματα καὶ φωνὰς* to call for the exclamation *νῆ Δία*? Read *γνήσια* or *ἀληθινὰ στόματα καὶ φωνὰς*, *genuine, sincere voices*.

537 E. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν <ἐνεῖναι> or <ἐγγίνεσθαι> τὰ πάθη ταῦτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς?

548 B. καθάπερ παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος is another instance of inadvertent repetition. Read (say) *μὴ ἀπελθόντος*. *ῥχετ' ἀπιών* is used above.

551 E. *τρόπος ὀνομάσθη* <διὰ> τὸ μεταβάλλον αὐτοῦ? Cf. on 493 B-E. Character itself, not the mutability of character, got the name of *τρόπος*. Then <ὅτι> ὡς with *Reiske*.

554 F. τὸ συνειδὸς (conscience) ἐγκείμενον ἔχων καὶ ἀπότινον.

Bernardakis *παρατεῖνον*: Wyttenbach once *ἀποτεῖνον*. Surely *ἀποτινώμενον*.

555 D. εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πονηρῶν ὑπάρχειν κακόν, ἀλλὰ . . . ἡ αἰσθησις αὐτῶν ἀνατρέπει τὴν ψυχὴν.

τῷ χρόνῳ means nothing at all. The word has been confused with τρόπῳ, *their life and character*. See my *Aristotelica*, index s.v. χρόνος.

557 F. εἰς παραμυθίαν <χρήσιμον> ἀφελεῖν? ἀφελεῖν <ῶφελεῖ>?

560 c. After ἐφημέρους ψυχάς add something in the sense of ἐχόντων. Like ἐχόντων above, it will agree with ἡμῶν.

562 A. Perhaps <ὥστε>, ὡς οὐ κ.τ.λ., ὥστε governing ἄγειν.

574 A. ταῦτα δ' <ὥς> ἀληθῆ . . . φανερά μοι δοκεῖ μαρτύρια εἶναι κ.τ.λ.

575 c. For τοῦ δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις read ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις. The αἰτίαι are, I suppose, the causes of the τέλος, i.e. the details (τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους) of the development from which the τέλος finally emerged.

565 D. φιληδονίας εἶδος is a puzzling expression, and Bernardakis' ἥλος from

718 D quite unsuitable, I am afraid, to the verb ἐξήνεγκε. I can suggest nothing better than πάθος. πάθος and ἥθος, ἥθος and εἶδος sometimes get confused.

582 A. οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ τέχνης <ἐμπείροις>? Cf. ἀπειρος following.

586 A. εὐρέϊαι μὲν γὰρ ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγαι δ' ἄς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσιν.

It is perhaps rather the characteristic of an ἀτραπὸς not to be wide; but in any case, the antithesis here presented is a very odd one. When we consider that the natural opposite of few is many, we have little difficulty in seeing that εὐρέϊαι is a mistake for μυρίαί, infinite in number, made easier by ν ending the word before it.

594 F. ἔψομαι, not ἔπομαι.

602 B. ὅσων <ἡκιστα> δεῖ? This is only a variation on Cobet's οὐ.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

THE PROBABLE ERROR OF A WATER-CLOCK.

In the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* for March, 1915, Miss Longbottom and I have discussed the Secular Acceleration of the Moon's Mean Motion as determined from the Occultations in the *Almagest*. It is not to be expected that many classical scholars will be interested either in the contents of *Monthly Notices* or in the Moon's acceleration, but as our study has a bearing on the errors of the instrument by means of which the observations in question appear to have been timed, I have thought it desirable to throw some of my conclusions into a separate paper for the benefit of anyone who may be interested in ancient time-keeping.

It may be well to explain at the beginning that this discussion is not concerned with the errors of the best constructed water-clocks, but with the errors of the clocks actually used by astronomical observers; further, it is not concerned with the time as ascertained from the clocks by the most rigorous methods, but with the time ascertained from the clocks by the method actually used; it will probably be not unreasonable to suppose that the

clocks and the methods used by the astronomers were at least as accurate as those used by ordinary people.

In the third chapter of the seventh book of the *Almagest* Ptolemy cites seven observations of occultations of stars by the Moon, or conjunctions of stars with the Moon. I append the Julian date, local mean time, name of observer, and place of observation of each:

Date.	Time.	Observer.	Place.
I. B.C. 295, Dec. 21	3.30 a.m.	Timocharis	Alexandria
II. „ 294, Mar. 9	8.15 p.m.	Timocharis	Alexandria
III. „ 283, Jan. 29	8.43 p.m.	Timocharis	Alexandria
IV. „ 283, Nov. 9	3.38 a.m.	Timocharis	Alexandria
V. A.D. 92, Nov. 29	7.14 p.m.	Agrippa	Bithynia
VI. „ 98, Jan. 11	{ 5.6 a.m. 6.7 a.m. }	Menelaus	Rome
VII. „ 98, Jan. 14	6.6 a.m.	Menelaus	Rome

The sixth observation was made in two stages separated by about an hour.

The method by which the time was determined is not stated, but the time is on each occasion expressed in 'seasonal' hours (ὥραι καιρικαί), each of which comprises one-twelfth of the

interval from sunset to sunrise for the particular night, and it is well known that the ancient water-clocks were constructed so as to indicate such hours. Each hour is divided into three parts, and the time is given to the nearest third of an hour. Had the time been determined by meridian observations, it would have been a waste of labour to reduce it to 'seasonal' hours.

There is then ground for an *a priori* assumption that the observations were timed by water-clocks. This will be confirmed by an investigation of the errors of the individual observations. The errors of a water-clock are either (a) constant, increasing in direct proportion to the lapse of time, or (b) variable, acting independently of the lapse of time. A nocturnal observer had two points of time given directly by observation by means of which he could check his clock, namely, sunset with which the first hour ought to begin, and sunrise with which the last hour ought to end. If the clock was working the whole night, the observer could compare the time of observation with either of these, or, if he were so inclined, he could correct the mean length of the hour by observing the difference between twelve hours and the interval between sunset and sunrise as recorded by his clock, and he could thus eliminate the whole of the constant error and a part of the variable error.

In discussing the observations, we assumed that all the elements that enter into the astronomical computation, with the single exception of the secular acceleration of the Moon's mean motion, are sufficiently determined for our purpose by modern astronomy, and I therefore weighted the different observations in proportion to the probable error of the secular acceleration as determined from them. Here it may be explained that when it is an even chance whether an error exceeds or falls short of a given quantity, that quantity is called the probable error. In order to do this I needed to have a theory of the errors to which a water-clock is liable, and I selected the theory which appeared to me the most probable, which happens also to be the theory which reduces the discordances to a minimum. It will be observed

that not one of the seven observations was made within three and a quarter hours of midnight. The observers were, apparently, unwilling to sacrifice any large part of the night's sleep to the cause of science. It would be unnecessary to set the clock going at sunset in order to make observations at 3.30 a.m. or later, and for ought that we know it might be necessary to keep a series of attendants up to regulate the water-supply if the clock were kept going all night; moreover, the accumulated errors would vitiate the morning observations. I therefore assumed that the evening observations were compared with sunset only, and the morning observations with sunrise only. It also seemed to me that the constant error was likely to be much larger than the variable error, and I therefore treated the latter as negligible, and weighted the observations for a probable error in the time bearing a constant ratio on each night to the interval separating the observation from the sunset or sunrise with which it was supposed to be compared. I assumed that the ratio of the rate of error on one night to the rate of error on another night was purely accidental. In this way I found the data for a least squares solution and obtained a value for the secular acceleration and its probable error.

In the paper in *Monthly Notices* solutions are given for two theories in addition to the one adopted. I have since worked out the problem on three other theories. It is manifest that any investigation of the probable errors of a water-clock in the light of the occultations is valueless, if a theory which regards all the errors as purely casual gives as good a result. I therefore form Theory I. according to which errors of an equal amount are equally probable at all hours of the night. Theory II. assumes that the time shown by the clock was corrected so as to give to each hour its average length for the particular night. This, as has been seen above, is the most rigorous method of determining the time by a water-clock. Theory III. assumes that the constant error is negligible, but that there is a variable error, and that the observed time is always compared with sunset, so that the morning observations are

affected by the large net error which has arisen during the night. Theory IV. also assumes that the constant error is negligible, but supposes that the morning observations are compared with sunrise and that the net error is reduced accordingly. Theory V. regards the variable error as negligible, but assumes a constant error accumulating from sunset, while Theory VI., which I adopt, also regards the variable error as negligible, and, as has been seen above, assumes that the morning observations are compared with sunrise, and the evening observations with sunset. Of the six theories all but II. and V. give the same value for the secular acceleration, but with different probable errors. The probable errors of the resultant secular acceleration as worked out by the different theories were found to be as follows:

Theory.	Probable Error in Acceleration.	Theory.	Probable Error in Acceleration.
I.	$\pm 0^{\circ}90$	IV.	$\pm 0^{\circ}80$
II.	$\pm 0^{\circ}85$	V.	$\pm 0^{\circ}78$
III.	$\pm 0^{\circ}82$	VI.	$\pm 0^{\circ}70$

It will be observed that any theory which assumes that the times were determined by a water-clock is superior to Theory I., which ignores the water-clock, while the adopted theory, which seemed intrinsically the most probable, gives a far less discordant result than any of the others. V. and VI. which treat the variable error as negligible work out better than II., III., and IV., which assume that the constant error was either negligible or capable of being eliminated. I have not thought it desirable to investigate for two unknown causes of error. It is clear from the investigation that the constant error was far more important than the variable, and any value found for the latter from so short a series of observations would be artificial.

The probable error discovered on the adopted theory is equivalent to a probable error of twelve minutes per hour, so that the probable error of a clock time two hours from comparison with observed time would be twenty-four minutes. It makes no difference whether this is expressed in 'seasonal'

or in equinoctial time, such as we use. The probable rate of error is twelve seasonal minutes in a seasonal hour, twelve equinoctial minutes in an equinoctial hour.

It must be remembered that half the actual errors should according to theory exceed the probable error, and not a few should be double the probable error. In the present series in four out of seven observations, the actual error appears to exceed the probable error, and in two of these four cases it is just over double the probable error. We must therefore regard an error of twenty-four minutes an hour as something not uncommon. From this it follows that water-clocks, as they were used by the astronomers whose observations have been under discussion, would be of little value except within a few hours of the phenomenon with which the clock-time was compared. In the first observation, the most discordant of the series, this interval has its highest value, about three hours and a half, giving a probable error of 42 minutes. From this it follows further that the clock would be of very little use in the early morning in order to determine the time for any immediate action, but only for observations, the time of which could not be determined till the sun had risen. It might equalise military watches at night, but left it quite uncertain what relation the end of the last watch would bear to sunrise, while it would be of little use as a guide to the beginning of an action which was to reach a definite stage before dawn. In fact on any morning in which the stars were visible, a military commander would find it better to look for some star which had recently risen heliacally and was still a harbinger of dawn than to trust a water-clock.

By day the clock could probably be checked by noon as well as by sunrise and sunset, but it would at best be a poor substitute for the sun-dial, and would clearly be more useful for marking short intervals as in the law-courts than for determining the time of day. I for one never realised before I entered upon this study how much we owe to the inventors of mechanical clocks.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

NOTES

HERODOTUS AND BABYLON

(See pp. 169, 223).

I HAVE to thank the Warden of Wadham for many kind words about my book on *Ancient Town-planning*. But he has done a small injustice to Weissbach which, quite apart from being that, threatens to obscure the general problem. Weissbach's *Versuch einer Rekonstruktion* was necessarily limited to such 'reconstruction' as was possible in 1904. The river-wall was then untraced; its existence was merely presumed. Therefore its line could not be laid down on a plan. But this is quite a different thing from suggesting that the river-front was unwall'd. Weissbach omitted a line which he could not show definitely. Indeed, if he were writing to-day, when we have actual proof of a part of the wall, he would still have to omit much of it, because its course is still largely undetermined. If the Warden himself (say, in a new edition of his excellent commentary) issued a plan of Babylon, he too would have to omit much of this wall; he would show a fragment 'beginning and ending in the air.' Similarly, Weissbach omitted all the dwelling-houses of Babylon, not because he thought that Babylon contained no inhabitants, but because the dwelling-houses were, in 1904, and indeed still are, imperfectly known.

I wish to make this clear, partly because the criticism brought against Weissbach applies—or, rather, does not apply—equally to all recent plans of Babylon, but chiefly because the suggestion which I based on those plans seems to offer some chance of making progress with the problem of Herodotean Babylon. Hitherto we have had two groups of theories. Some scholars, like Oppert and Baumstark, tried to

force the remains into harmony with the dimensions of the city as given in literature. The Warden and (I think) all recent writers have rejected this view; they have adopted instead a 'non possumus' position. Either, like most of the archaeologists and assyriologists, they declare that Herodotus is altogether wrong, and that nothing really useful can be made out of him, or, as the Warden seems to do, they stick up for Herodotus, and are a little scornful about attempts to interpret the excavations. If, however, we can find—in the fairly certain half-square and the other, not certain, half-square of remains, with the river dividing the two diagonally—an important feature in which Herodotus and archaeological facts meet, there is chance of reconciliation. No doubt the remains are much smaller than either Herodotus or any other ancient writer implies. But the dimensions given by Herodotus are admittedly incredible; practically no one now attempts to defend them. It is, indeed, a recognised truth that large figures are the most unreliable items in narratives, whether of the ancient or the medieval or even of the present world.

F. HAVERFIELD.

LIVY I. 34. 1.

THE texts give *Lucumo . . . Romam commigravit cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris*.

I would suggest that *maxime* (which gives no good sense) is corrupt, and that what Livy wrote was *maximi*, meaning by '*cupidine maximi ac spe magni honoris*' that Lucumo wanted to become king, and was confident that he would attain some high position in any event.

M. T. TATHAM.

REVIEWS

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

Livy, Book III., ed. by P. Thoresby Jones. (Clarendon Press; with vocabulary, 3s. 6d.; without, 2s. 6d.). This is a useful edition, especially for those who have not done much continuous reading of *Livy*. We have an Introduction (32 pp.) specially good on the history and constitution of early Rome, the Oxford text by Conway and Walters (74 pp.), Notes (98 pp.), Vocabulary (78 pp.). The editor is good at 'spotting' the points which are likely to cause difficulty to the fifth form boy, and explaining them clearly and briefly. He is always scholarly, though sometimes his generalisations as to Latin usage seem to us a little too sweeping. For instance, we doubt if it is true, though it is often stated, that expressions like *interficiendorum tribunorum* are 'usually avoided for reasons of euphony.' Cicero, who had a tolerable ear, has plenty of examples, and he is not alone; so far from avoiding two *-orum* endings he seems to have had a liking for three, as in *Catil. i. 7 tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa*. Whether it is desirable to have special vocabularies in books intended for those who are beginning to be able to use a large dictionary is doubtful; it is certainly convenient for the day-boy who cannot carry a number of large books about. It is worth noting that the vocabulary to this book is remarkably well made.

Rather fuller notes are given in S. G. Campbell's edition of *Livy*, Book XXVII. (Pitt Press, 3s.; Historical Introduction, with Table showing the distribution of the legions 210 B.C. to 207 B.C., 20 pp.; Text, 75 pp.; Notes and Index, 142 pp.). The edition is a good one for a student who has only read one or two books of *Livy*; both subject-matter and language are treated with care and thoroughness. The notes on grammatical questions often run to some length, and should interest the more intelligent reader in the Latin language. We venture to call atten-

tion to a small point on which Mr. Campbell follows a traditional 'rule' which has been shown to be untrue. In his note on 14, 5, speaking of 'the common attraction of the subject pronoun to the gender of the predicate *hic labor est* "this is toil,"' he states that 'the Romans . . . do not say *hic non est labor*' for 'this is not toil.' Yet Cicero writes (*Phil. i. 37*) *non plausum illum, sed iudicium puto* and (*Nat. d. i. 122*) *non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura*. Lebreton (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, pp. 24-29) says that there is only one negative sentence in Cicero in which the (neuter) pronoun is not thus attracted, namely *Sex. Rosc. 106*. Lebreton concludes his study of the subject thus: 'Si l'on remarque que c'est sur ce seul passage de Cicéron que s'appuyait la règle donnée par les grammairiens jusqu'à Riemann, on constatera que, sur ce point encore, la généralisation avait été un peu hâtive.'

Thucydides, Book VI., ed. by C. F. Smith. (Ginn, College Series, 250 pp., 6s. 6d.). If anyone wants to read Greek comfortably we commend to him the books in this series. The fine large type of the text and the presence of the notes on the same page make them very easy to use. The book before us is based on the Classen-Steup edition (1905), the notes of which 'have been followed for the most part, but with a more independent attitude than was maintained in Books III. and VII.' Various other commentaries have been regularly consulted and those of Marchant and of Spratt, 'which have been at hand in the last stages of the work, would have proved more helpful had they been always consulted from the outset.' The notes are good and clear; they give the sort of help that a sixth form boy or more mature scholar is likely to need. The book would be more generally useful if references were given, not to German, but to English books and periodicals on history, antiquities, etc. For instance, if one is interested

in the topography of Athens, it is annoying to be referred to a paper by Curtius (dated 1854) and other German works which are not accessible to most of us. What one wants is, first, an indication of the best discussion of the matter in English, and, secondly, a note of any recent foreign work in which further information can be found.

Mr. O. R. A. Byrde, who edits the *Heracles* (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d.), is evidently thoroughly interested in Euripides. His Introduction (13 pp.) is excellent. Many of the notes (52 pp.) are good, but there is much need of revision. Some of them are not easy to understand, either because they are unduly compressed or because they are carelessly drafted. We doubt the value of the elaborate set of indexes (9 pp.). As these things tend to raise the price of school books it is worth while to say a word about them. Our experience is (1) that an index verborum is always useful because it helps one to find a passage of which one recalls but a few words, (2) that an index of grammatical notes or of passages referred to is of no value except in a book in which grammatical questions are treated more fully than in the ordinary reference books. It is difficult to see how the list of proper names which happen to be mentioned in the notes can be of service; e.g. can it be worth while to record the numerous places where Heracles is mentioned?

The *Apology of Socrates*, ed. by A. M. Adam (Cambridge Elementary Classics, University Press, 2s. 6d.). The *Apology* is one of the best books for those who are beginning to read a Greek author unabridged, provided they are old enough to appreciate the thought. One can read it slowly without losing interest, and the frequent repetition of the same words and constructions encourages the student to feel that he is growing quite at home in Greek. Mrs. Adam has produced an admirable edition, because she has kept steadily in mind the needs of the intelligent, grown-up beginner. Her notes are simple, scholarly, clear. They are based on those of Dr. Adam, but they 'have been for the most part,

and the introduction entirely, rewritten.' Mr. H. Williamson's excellent edition in Macmillan's Classical Series has also been used. The vocabulary is good, and is quite as useful as the small L. and S. at this stage.

Odyssey VI. and VII., ed. by G. M. Edwards (same series, 2s.), is good in the same way as an introduction to Homer. The editor follows the good old plan of printing below the text the ordinary Greek forms corresponding to any epic words which are likely to give trouble—e.g., *ἔμεν*] *lévai*. It would probably help the beginner if a few pages were added summarising the more important facts of accidence and syntax. The literary side is emphasised by occasional quotation from the translations of Mackail or Butcher and Lang. We often see in elementary books made up illustrations which we should hesitate to put in our pupils' hands, for fear of giving them a wrong impression of ancient life. But here we have some excellent reproductions of Greek vase paintings, which show us how some Greeks pictured the meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa, and similar scenes. We should be still more pleased if a note were added to tell us the approximate date of the vases and a little more about them. Some students need to be told that the vase-painter has an artistic aim, and is not trying to make a realistic picture of an actual scene.

Less successful, in our opinion, is A. G. Peskett's edition of *De Bello Civili*, Book II. (Pitt Press Series, 2s. 6d.), because the editor has a less definite idea of the needs of his readers. Sometimes he thinks of them as beginners who will need a simple vocabulary in which to look up *audio* and *magnus*, sometimes as capable of understanding and appreciating the historical value of a quotation from Dion, and of being interested in the statement that 'Draeger, *Hist. Synt.* (1878) omits *praetermitto* in his account of the compounds of *mitto*.' But, for all that, the edition will be useful. The editor knows Caesar well, and his notes are trustworthy. We wish he had made them rather fuller. For instance, it

does not seem satisfactory to say, on 17, 2, *haec omnibus ferebat sermonibus* 'ferebat, "gave out".' The student should be enabled to form some idea how it comes to mean that. Meusel quotes Livy, 4, 5, 6, *ferre sermonibus et multiplicare fama bella*. Still more desirable is it to expand the brief Introduction (just over three pages). A student who has not recently read Book I. will not easily realise how the campaigns in different parts of the world are related to one another. It would be well, too, to tell him in what *English* books he will find good accounts of the war, of the Roman army, etc. Drumann-Grube is not accessible to most of those for whom this book is intended.

A similar remark may be made about G. B. Allen's *Selected Letters of Pliny* (Clarendon Press, 2s. 6d.). Here is a selection definitely intended for candidates for Pass Moderations. They are referred to an article by Stobbe in *Philologus*, 'Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Plinius,' to Friedländer's *Sitten-geschichte* (not the English version), and Marquardt's *Privatleben*, but they are not told what are the best books in English on the history and antiquities of the period. It is well worth while to name a good many and to make the advice as definite as possible, for the Pass Moderations student is not good at finding his way unaided in the *Dictionary of Antiquities* and similar works. The Letters (53 pp.) are well chosen, and the Introduction (36 pp.) and Notes (54 pp.) give suitable help. We think there are too many notes of the type 'for *quamquam* with participle and abl. abs. cf. x. 33. 1.' Would it not be better to say 'So in x. 33. 1. *quamquam via interiacente*'? It takes no more space and saves time. There are several notes referring to passages in which this use of *quamquam* may be found. We doubt if students hunt them up and learn from them anything about the syntax of the participle. It would be better, instead of this scattered treatment, to give a fuller note in one place, quoting a few sentences and showing how *quamquam* came to be felt necessary.

Intermediate Oral Latin Reader, by Frank Jones (Blackie, 2s., 115 pp.), consists of an abridgment of Cicero's *De Senectute* (46 pp.), selections from Martial (14 pp.) and from Horace (7 pp.). Each chapter of the Cicero is preceded by short sentences, in which the difficulties are presented in a somewhat simpler form. After each chapter comes an Interrogatio. It is a good idea to give occasionally Latin foot-notes; they often supply just the help required, and tempt the pupil to believe that he can read Latin. The pictures are well chosen, and are made more helpful by short notes. Mr. Jones is evidently a good scholar and a skilful teacher.

Noctes Latinae, by W. Madeley (Macmillan, 1s. 6d., 166 pp.). Ten stories, with short and sensible notes. Neither in the text nor in the vocabulary are the quantities marked, so that the reader when he meets a new word, and he will meet many, will have no guide to the pronunciation. The purpose of the book is to provide 'boys of about thirteen with a translation book in which they can be interested.' We have, for instance, Androcles and Arion from Gellius, Damocles from Cicero, an original story based on the *Menaechni* of Plautus, and even the Matrona Ephesia from Petronius. The last named, even when bowdlerised, seems to us not wholly suitable reading for boys of thirteen. The editor thinks that boys will like these tales better than Caesar and Vergil. Our own belief is that they will like them for a change, but that they ought to be made a good deal easier, both in vocabulary and sentence structure—this book is quite as hard as Caesar—so that a story may be read rapidly and with little help. For everyday work we think they would prefer, say, the defence of Cicero's camp, and the rest of Book V. of the *Bell. Gall.*, or the sack of Troy, to a series of disconnected tales.

Miss Ryle's *Olim* (Bell, 1s., 53 pp.) is an excellent piece of work. It consists of half a dozen plays or dialogues intended for classroom acting. Thus we have a talk between Catullus and

Lesbia preparing the way for the *Passer* poem; a conversation about the weather leads up to the recitation by one of the characters of Vergil's *Numquam imprudentibus imber Obfuit* (Georg. i, 373 ff.). Probably the most popular, especially with girls, will be *Lex Oppia*, in which the women of Rome insist on the repeal of the sumptuary law. Here are a few lines from the last scene: A. *Vincula non timemus*. B. *Immo vero, vinculis nos*

ipsas ad postes vestros ligabimus ne quis nos abducere possit. C. *Omnes tabellarios opperiemur, qui litteras . . .* C. *Catonem superavimus mulieres*. D. *Fortasse aliquando etiam suffragii ius nobis permittetur*. In this we have perhaps some slightly modern touches, but we commend the writer because she has tried to put real Romans on her stage and not moderns dressed up in Roman clothes. Σ.

MÜLLER'S AESTHETIC COMMENTARY ON SOPHOCLES.

Ästhetischer Kommentar zu den Tragödien des Sophokles. By ADOLF MÜLLER, Professor an der Gelehrtenschule zu Kiel. 1 vol. Pp. 526. 1 Photogravure. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. M. 6.60.

THIS work, which is a second and enlarged edition of one produced in 1904, is called an *Aesthetic Commentary on Sophocles*, but is rather a systematic treatment of the *Realien* of the plays. It covers a great deal more than merely aesthetic considerations: it comments on scenes and character rather than on individual lines. It cannot be hailed as light reading, for it contains 526 pages of closely printed matter, and the author is prolix and often irrelevant, and, although the book contains much useful and interesting information, the table of contents is not nearly detailed enough to make a serviceable guide, and there are no headings of pages and paragraphs.

The plan of the book is as follows: A preliminary essay of fifty pages gives an account of Sophocles, the national and patriotic poet, favoured by gods and comic writers, the man who was a consummate artist, but not very inventive and not speculative; he is considered in relation to the events of his age, and the special characteristics of his style are analysed. Then follows a description of his plays *seriatim*; they are all examined in accordance with one plan—(1) the Saga in Greek literature and art; (2) preliminary considerations on the play; (3) the story up to the commencement of the play; (4) the argument; (5) the analysis of

each scene and chorus; (6) the lines of treatment, in which the exposition, climax, and conclusion of the play are indicated, with the different stages of the dramatic movement; (7) consideration of points of dramatic and ethical signification. For instance, in the *Antigone* there are discussed the question of the two burials, the attitude of ancient literature to love, the genuineness of Antigone's disputed speech, the order of Creon's execution of the duties imposed on him by Teiresias, the part played by the Chorus, and the motive of the entrance or exit of particular characters. To this last point in all the plays Professor Müller pays especial attention.

The characters are treated separately, and it is here that the Professor's verbosity is most marked. He has nothing of the gift, ascribed to the dramatist whom he expounds, of making a character vivid by half a line. His analyses are lengthy, but lack subtlety; perhaps the character of Tecmessa is described with most sympathy and understanding. He is apt to indulge in rhetoric, and at times to be very irrelevant. Thus in the analysis of Philoctetes' character we have a lengthy catalogue of the discomforts suffered on Lemnos, and, while treating of Deianira's character, he gives us a comparison of the *Agamemnon* and *Trachiniae*, which is based on such Monmouth-Macedon resemblances as the fact that a cloak plays a part in the death both of Heracles and Agamemnon.

There follow certain general considerations on the structure and setting of Greek tragedies, with separate articles

on the dialogue, chorus, etc. An account of Greek music is interrupted by an irrelevant panegyric on the music of his own countrymen and a speculation on the reasons why the North of Germany is less musical than the South. The research recently made into the earliest origins of Tragedy is treated somewhat sketchily in relation to the bulk of the whole work; stage arrangements and mechanism are considered, and attention is paid to the theories of Bethe, Wieseler, and Dörpfeld.

We were told recently that a German savant need have no more than half a shelf of English books, so trivial have been the contributions of our countrymen to learning. It is to be observed that in his half-shelf Professor Müller has a well-thumbed Shakespeare, but of English scholarship he professes but slight acquaintance. Two references are made to Jebb, both in connection with the same scene in the *Antigone*. Dr. Rouse's theory of the burial by

Ismene is dismissed as incredible, and Professor Ridgeway is once referred to as being wrong in a chapter, which, whether directly or indirectly, seems to owe not a little to his speculations. That is all.

Professor Müller has collected much that is useful. His analysis of dramatic technique is sound; no part of the book is more satisfactory than his treatment of such questions as the motives for the entrance and exits of characters, such as the apparently purposeless entrance of Creon in *Ant.* 882 (there is a misprint in Müller's reference). The chapter on dialogue, with its analysis of stichomythia and symmetrical verse-groups in tragedy, is one of the best in the book. But if the whole work were compressed, it would be of greater value. Where a love of beauty is to be encouraged, there, if anywhere, a writer should keep in mind μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν.

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THE OXFORD ARISTOTLE IN ENGLISH.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English: *de Mundo, de Spiritu*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2s. net.

THESE translations (together with the *Parva Naturalia* already published) are the first instalments of Vol. III. of the *Oxford Aristotle in English*. Mr. E. S. Forster is responsible for the *de Mundo*, Mr. J. F. Dobson for the *de Spiritu*. The *de Mundo*, addressed to Alexander, is as the translator says 'an interesting little treatise,' and one that has been the subject of much discussion because of the mystery of its authorship and date. In Zeller's *Eclectics* (Eng. tr. c. 5) the student will find an examination of some current views on the treatise; and besides this there is the later and more elaborate essay by Capelle in *Neue Jahrbücher* XV., to which reference is made in Mr. Forster's Preface. The translation follows Bekker's text with a few variations recorded in the foot-notes, and the passages which seem open to doubt on the score either

of text or interpretation are but few. In 391^b 10 ff. the reading of Capelle ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ θεόν is approved, in place of the plurals θεῶν given by Bekker: this may be right, but is it right to render it 'preserved by and through God'? Again, at 392^b 8, it seems doubtful whether the view adopted is the best: I should have thought that ἐκείνης, alluding ultimately to αἰθέρος, was a likelier reading than κινήσεως. In 394^b 36 there is mention of a wind that 'follows a bending course' called 'Caecias': here, too (as at 391 above), I should be inclined to read 'Circias,' because of the etymological suggestion of 'circularity.' In the note on ὁρωμένον, in the sense of 'heard' (395^a 18), a reference might have been added to the well-known Aeschylean κτύπον δέδορκα. The rendering of the words περαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ μῦθος οὐκ ἀτάκτως 401^b 23, viz. 'this fable is well and duly composed,' fails to bring out the full force of περαίνεται, with its echo of the preceding συμπεραίνουσα (cf. the

περαινει 4 ll. *infra*), and slurs over the *καὶ* to boot.

The *de Spiritu*, like the *de Mundo*, is a spurious production, and, as Mr. Dobson justly observes in his Preface, 'No amount of emendation will remove the incoherence of the work, which must be regarded rather as a collection of Problems than as a finished treatise.' The translation is adapted to the new Teubner text of Jaeger, though in several cases dissent from Jaeger is recorded in the foot-notes, and occasionally new conjectures are adopted. At 483^b 23 ff. the translation runs: 'It is also proved both by dissection and by the fact that the veins and air-ducts . . . connect with the intestines and the belly,' with the foot-note 'Here again there seems to be a dislocation, for it is not clear what is proved by dissection.' The Greek (Bekker) is: *φανερὸν δ' ἔκ τε τῶν ἀνατομῶν εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἔντερον . . . αἱ ἀρτηρίαι συνάπτουσιν, κ.τ.λ.* Why not excise the *καὶ*, together with the preceding comma, so that the sense is 'dissections prove the connection between veins and belly,' etc.? Another place where the rendering seems open to doubt is 484^b 38 ff.—'for perhaps some, *e.g.* the spine, have little or no function except that of bending . . . others are bound together by sinews.' The Greek runs: *ἐνίοις γὰρ ἴσως οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οἷον ἢ ῥάχιν· ἄλλ' ἢ κάμψιν . . . τὰ δὲ καὶ συνδέεται νεύροις, κ.τ.λ.*, except that Mr. Dobson corrects *ἄλλ' ἢ* to *ἄλλ' ἢ*. Where, then, does Mr. Dobson get his 'function' from? For it looks from the context as if the sentence ought to run 'some have little or no need'—viz. of sinews for connecting purposes. *ἄλλ' ἢ κάμψιν* is difficult, but by a slight correction, reading *ἄλλ' ἢ κάμψει*, we can get the meaning which, I take it, is required, viz. 'except for the purpose of bending.' Further, the translation entirely skips the *καὶ* in the last clause, which seems to mean 'also,' as if the connection was by sinews as well as by serum; while, if that is an impossible sense, we should like to know what the translator makes of it. Of the new readings adopted, that by Mr. W. D. Ross (485^b 27), *λίαν ἀπλῶς . . . <ἐπεὶ> εἴπερ* (for *αἰτίαν ἀπλῶς*) strikes one as specially neat

and attractive. By way of general commendation, it is needless to say more than that the translations of both these treatises are well up to the high standard already set in the earlier sections of the Oxford Aristotle.

R. G. BURY.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English. *De Coloribus. De Audibilibus. Physiognomonica. De Plantis. Mechanica. Ventorum Situs et Cognomina. De Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia.* Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1913. Price 5s. net.

THE present volume consists of translations of the above-mentioned short treatises which, though they have been ascribed to Aristotle, are all of them almost certainly the work of other and later authors. Some (or perhaps all) were probably Peripatetic products. The *De Coloribus* has been ascribed to Theophrastus and to Strato. The *De Audibilibus* has also been attributed to Strato. The *De Plantis*, alone of these treatises, was possibly in its original form written by Aristotle, and the meagre references to botanical science in Aristotle's accredited works, which otherwise are so inclusive, lends some support to this view. The first three treatises in the present volume, and also the last, have been translated by Messrs. T. Loveday and E. S. Forster, of the University of Sheffield. The translations of the *De Plantis*, the *Mechanica*, and the *Ventorum Situs et Cognomina* are the work of Mr. Forster alone. The *De Plantis* is translated from a Latin text dating from the thirteenth century, the original Greek and the Arabic translation from which the Latin text had been rendered having been lost. It is noteworthy that the only existing Greek edition of the treatise is one which is three times removed from the original.

Excepting for the *De Plantis* the treatises contained in this volume are of relatively small scientific interest. The *De Coloribus* and *De Audibilibus* show little evidence of that extraordinary insight into natural phenomena which gained for Aristotle for many centuries

the foremost place among scientific authorities. The *Physiognomonica* is full of fantastic statements which have little or no basis in fact. The *Mechanica* belongs to a different category. It is a technical treatise on the principles of Mechanics, and deals with many practical applications. The *Ventorum Situs*, which is usually attributed to Theophrastus, is a very short work, describing the charts of the winds. The concluding treatise is philosophical in character, and deals with the views of Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias upon Being and Not-being.

Of all the works collected in this volume, to a man of science the *De Plantis* is the most interesting, if only for the remarkable anticipation of the results of later investigation into the phenomena of sex among plants. The author not only clearly recognised the separate existence of male and female elements in vegetable organisms, but also the essential similarity between the reproductive processes of plants and those occurring in animals. In the same chapter we read that 'plants are only created for the sake of animals, and animals are not created for the sake of plants.' This statement is noteworthy

because, taken in conjunction with its context, it seems to indicate something more than a dim perception of the fact that animals are dependent, either directly or ultimately, upon plants for their source of energy, whereas plants can obtain their necessary supply of energy without the help of animals. In a later part of the treatise the author describes the influence of the environment upon plants, and refers to the effects of cultivation on wild species. He states further that one kind of plant may, under certain conditions, change into another kind, and thus he appears vaguely to have foreshadowed the Lamarckian doctrine of specific mutability as a result of changes in the surroundings.

Whether or not the authorship of this treatise is that of Aristotle—and most authorities agree in attributing it to another hand—the work is truly a remarkable one and well worthy of study. The present translation is very readable, and together with those of the other treatises contained in this volume, constitutes a valuable addition to the series in which it appears.

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E. WALSER, *POGGIUS FLORENTINUS LEBEN UND WERKE*.

Poggius Florentinus Leben und Werke.

By E. Walser. Pp. 1-567. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914.

It is somewhat singular that the correspondence of Poggio should never have been properly edited. An attempt was made in the last century by Tommaso Tonelli, who drew most of his material from a very important MS. in the Riccardiana Library at Florence. The first volume, which appeared in 1839, is a well-known work. The two other volumes, which were printed after his death, met with a singular fate. There is a copy in the National Library at Florence, somewhat soiled and defaced by various borrowers, and another passed into the possession of Dr. Wilmanns, the late librarian at Berlin. No other copies are known to exist, and it is supposed

that the impression must have been retired from circulation owing to some quarrel between Tonelli's family and the publishers. Dr. Wilmanns made preparations for a new and enlarged edition,¹ but found the task beyond his powers. Consequently, while the letters of several minor humanists have found capable editors, those of Poggio, the greatest Italian researcher, the prince of letter-writers in the fifteenth century, the Secretary of eight Popes, are still inaccessible except in a very imperfect form.

Dr. Walser of Zurich has set himself to repair this deficiency, and has issued this preliminary volume upon the life of Poggio, to be followed by a complete

¹ His results appear in *Central-Blatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxx. (1913), pp. 289-331, 443-463.

edition of the letters gathered together from all sources. It is impossible to praise too highly the industry which he has shewn. He has ransacked the records of Florence and Rome, making especial use of the information furnished by the registers of taxation, and his researches enable us to follow with great exactitude the fortunes of Poggio from the days when he came to Florence as a poor boy with five *soldi* in his pocket to his death at the age of 79, rich, full of honours, the ex-Chancellor of his adopted city.

Zielinski,¹ when discussing what he terms the 'ancient caricatures' of Cicero, remarks that 'legend travels with little luggage and loses something at each halting-place.' This saying is very true of Poggio, who has been chiefly known from caricatures. He became unpopular with both parties in the great religious struggles of the sixteenth century. His *Facetiae*, a collection of scandalous stories in which corrupt priests and monks play a leading part, were put on the Index by the Council of Trent, although they caused no offence in the days of Nicholas V. On the other hand, Protestant writers naturally took sides with his enemy Valla, the bold critic and free-thinker, from whom they themselves drew inspiration. The manifold activities of Poggio were forgotten, and he was remembered only as the discoverer of MSS. and the author of the *Facetiae*. His name became a synonym for the worship of antiquity, religious indifference and heathenism in general. He was confused with his own sons, also with later writers. In modern days silly fables have gathered round his name, such as the legend that he forged the Annals of Tacitus, a work which has come down to us from two MSS., one of which (Bks. xi.-xvi.) was known to Boccaccio before Poggio's birth, while the other (Bks. i.-vi.) was not brought to Italy until 50 years after his death.

It is impossible here to do more than indicate the manner in which Walser has treated Poggio's life and works. He devotes to the subject nineteen chapters. Some of these are historical, while others contain an appreciation of

various writings. The chief periods into which his life falls are those of his youth, his entry into the Curia in 1403 at the age of 23, his activities during the Council of Constance (1414-18), his residence for four years in England as a *protégé* of Cardinal Beaufort, his return to Rome in 1423 followed by 30 years' service in the Curia under Martin V., Eugenius IV., and Nicholas V. In 1453, at the age of 73, he returned to Florence as Chancellor, and held this post, as it seems with but indifferent success, until within a year of his death. His vitality was astonishing. When 56 he married a girl of 18, Vaggia, belonging to the noble family of the Buondelmonti; his last son was born when he was 70; when Chancellor of Florence he sometimes thought of returning to the Curia, and attached great value to the honorary post of Secretary under Calixtus III.; at a later date he made overtures to Venice, with the object of entering the service of the Republic. Shortly before his death he recovered the energy of youth, when the oft-repeated story of the complete Livy at Sorøe in Denmark was revived. He urges on Cardinal di Colonna the need of instant action. The treasure must be brought to Bruges; there he will arrange for its transport to Geneva and subsequent carriage to Italy. He says, 'this is not the time for sleep or slumber, but for rapid action. I would that I had wings so as to be with you.'¹ His fierce temper was not calmed by age, as may be seen from his savage words on the death of Aurispa, his rival as a researcher.²

Walser is most impartial in his treatment of Poggio's character. He extenuates nothing and balances the evidence with the greatest care. There is, however, one charge brought against Poggio by Roman Catholic writers and notably by Pastor, that of unorthodoxy, which he shews to be wholly baseless. Walser says that Poggio's philosophical creed is entirely Christian. He only takes from antiquity what is consistent with a firm belief and a mediaeval orthodox conception of the world. This strong conviction of perfect orthodoxy and sincerely Christian atti-

¹ *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*, ed. 2, p. 15.

¹ P. 544.

² P. 554.

tude is the reason why Poggio so calmly presents to Popes and Cardinals his writings in which peccant priests and monks are satirized so unmercifully. It never occurred to him for one moment that any one could see in them any pronounced hostility to the teaching of Christ or His servants.¹

It is to be noticed that one of the chief charges which Poggio brings against Valla was heresy.²

Poggio character was many-sided. His enthusiasm for research was derived from Niccolo Niccoli, his *dulcissimus Nicolaus* who called out all that was best in him. His political views resembled those which were subsequently set forth by Machiavelli.³ In his ferocity and coarseness he reminds us of Swift, whom also he resembled in an undercurrent of tenderness and in his fundamental piety. In his gift for self-revelation, in his cupidity, and in his behaviour towards Vaggia, he reminds us of that excellent public servant, Mr. Samuel Pepys.

Among the new letters published by Walser the gem is one written to Nicholas V. in 1454, when Poggio was suffering from gout.⁴ It is written in Poggio's most familiar style, and shows that to him the Pope still remained his old friend, the 'little bell-priest'⁵ of Florence, Tommaso Parentucelli. He tells a story of a priest at Terranuova who suffered so much from gout that he had to be carried to the altar and sat down while saying Mass. He continued, however, to drink his *Trebiano*, saying that the consequences were the same whether he drank deeply or practised abstinence.

Among the documents there are many of great interest, e.g. Poggio's matriculation as notary at Florence in 1402;⁶ his appointment as Rector of Drogenesford in the diocese of Winchester in 1423, although only in minor orders;⁷ a pass given to his mother Jacopa after a visit to Rome in 1426.⁷

¹ P. 309. Cf. p. 323.

² Pp. 274, 531.

³ P. 522.

⁴ Vespasiano, *Vite*, p. 42 (*uno prete da suonare campane*).

⁵ P. 327.

⁶ P. 333.

⁷ P. 337.

On this occasion she travelled with much luggage:

Cum duobus saccis plenīs filato et pannis laneis et lineis aliisque rebus et bonis ad usum suum deputatis necnon argenterii et aliquibus rebus commestibilibus.

Poggio's will¹ was made in October, 1443. A noticeable feature in this is the number of benefactions made to convents and churches and the provision of masses for the souls of the testator and his parents. Poggio was devoted to his young wife, then twenty-four years of age, but his provisions about her do not strike the reader as liberal. Not only are restrictions upon her re-marriage imposed, but her woollen and silk stuffs together with all his plate are to be sold in order to provide for his funeral expenses. Also, she is not to keep in the house any of her relations, except for a brief period of mourning: *quod si secus fecerit, sit cum ea maledictio Dei*. Vaggia was the second child in a family of thirteen, and pushed her brothers with great energy. Possibly Poggio wished to protect her from her family.

One document is of capital importance, viz., the inventory of Poggio's goods made after his death.² I gather from Walser's account that it has not been previously published. If so, it is a discovery of the first magnitude.

The most interesting entry in the catalogue, at any rate to the present reviewer, is:

73. Orationes tullii V antique in pergamento.

This is the only MS. which is termed *antiquus*. The number of speeches (five) suggests that it was the *vetus Cluniacensis* obtained by Poggio from Cluni in 1414. The contents of this were *pro Milone*, *pro Cluentio*, *pro Murena*, *pro Sex. Roscio*, *pro Caelio*.

This identification (made by Walser) seems certain. If so, this ancient MS., which was used by various scholars after its arrival in Italy, including Poggio himself in 1429, but afterwards disappeared, was in the possession of Poggio at the time of his death.

Walser suggests, with some reserve, that the other speeches discovered by Poggio, viz. *pro Caecina*, *de lege agraria*, in

¹ Pp. 359-370.

² Pp. 417-427.

Pisonem, pro Roscio Comoedo, pro Rabirio perduellionis reo, pro Rabirio Postumo may have formed No. 18, which is described as *orationes Tullii*. Elsewhere¹ he establishes definitely the provenance of these speeches, apart from the *pro Caecina*, which was known to have come from Langres. Previously we had only the worthless statement of Vespasiano, the Florentine bookseller, that Poggio found some of them under a heap of rubbish. Walser shows from a minute written by Niccolo Niccoli for the instruction of researchers in German libraries² that Poggio found them in the smaller library belonging to Cologne Cathedral. He was not able to see the larger library about which, as Niccolo says, he heard marvellous stories, owing to the absence of the librarian. This library without doubt contained the MSS. given by Hildebald, minister of Charlemagne, many of which still remain in the present library. It was in Cologne that Nicholas of Cues shortly afterwards (in 1426) discovered a second copy of the speeches *de lege agraria* and in *Pisonem*, together with twelve new plays of Plautus and other treasures.³ It would appear probable that this discovery was made in the larger library.

The following entries are interesting, in view of recent controversies:

57. Servius in papirio. Sirius (*i.e.* Silius) ytalicus in papirio coopertum corio rubeo.

60. Astronomicon cum multis aliis in papirio coopertum corio albo.

Here the *Astronomicon* = Manilius. Since there is no mention in the catalogue of Sigiberti Chronicon, Asconius, Valerius Flaccus, and the *Silvae* of Statius, it seems a fair inference that these works, now found in the two Madrid MSS. M. 31, X. 81, were combined in No. 60. That they once formed one volume is shown by an index at the beginning of M. 31, viz.

¹ P. 58.

² P. 102. This document recently came to light. It is contained in a MS. containing philosophical works of Cicero described by De Marinis in *MSS. incunabiles et libros rares No. XII*. 1913 (Florence). The MS. was acquired by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Cf. *Woch. f. Kl. Philol.*, 1913, p. 701.

³ *Cl. R.* xx. (1906), p. 226.

Manilii Astronomicon, Statii Papinii Sylvae, Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem, Valerii Flacci nonnulla.

Walser has no doubt that the *Chronicle* of Sigibert, which Poggio found in England, is in his handwriting.¹ The MS. of Silius Italicus, which is so often mentioned in connexion with the contents of the Madrid MSS. appears to have been bound up with Servius by Poggio. While speaking of these MSS., I may add that Walser regards the receipt given by Poggio to the monks of St. Gall for the MS. of Asconius as relating only to a temporary loan of the book which was subsequently returned.²

Poggio also had his autograph copy of Quintilian, No. 17 (*manu Poggi*). This must be the *originale Poggi*, now lost, referred to in the colophons found in *Vat. Urb.* 327, and *Ambros. B.* 153 sup. Other interesting entries are (27) Tacitus, (45) Propertius, (63) Lucretius, (65) Catullus.

Walser gives various specimens of Poggio's handwriting. His calligraphic script is to be found in *Laur.* 48. 22: *Philippics*, in *Catilinam*; *ibid.* 50. 31: *de Oratore, Paradoxa, Brutus, Orator*; *ibid.* 67. 15: *Eusebius de temporibus*. *Vat.* 3245: *de Legibus, Academica*: *Berol. Ham.* 166: *ad Atticum*. All of these are signed by him.³

The only MS. possessing his signature, which is written in a cursive hand, is the *Matritensis* x. 81. Walser also gives specimens of his cursive hand, both in Latin and in Italian, as found in ordinary documents.

Various fictitious names have been assigned to Poggio, generally those of his sons. Thus in the standard work of Voigt he is still called *Gianfrancesco*,⁴ while other writers speak of him as *Francesco*, a name due to confusion with

¹ P. 54. Cf. *Cl. R.* x. (1896), p. 302.

² *Cl. R.* xxvi. (1912), p. 263, xxvii. (1913), p. 38.

³ It is unfortunate that in Ehrle and Liebaert's *Specimina Codd. Latinorum*, a leaf from *Vat.* 3331 is given as an example of Poggio's hand. The date (1453) makes this impossible. Cf. *Cl. R.* xiii. (1899), p. 120. Walser doubts whether it or the companion MS. *Vat.* 3330 were even *libri Poggii* (p. 107).

⁴ *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, i. p. 327 (ed. 3).

the later poet, Francesco Bracciolini. Walser shows decisively that there is no authority for these names.¹ He speaks of him as Poggio Bracciolini, and, in common with other modern writers, frequently terms him Bracciolini simply. The Bracciolini of Pistoia were a noble family, and Poggio used their arms when he entered the College of Priors in 1455.² A survey of the documents printed by Walser suggests that his connexion with the Bracciolini was an invention of his later years.

Poggio is an Italian form for Podius, the name of a saint, once Bishop of Florence. Poggio's father was named Guccio, and his grandfather Poggio. It may be noticed that one of Poggio's natural sons was named Guccio. Poggio's father was a poor apothecary³ living at Terranuova with property valued at 40 lire in the register of 1373. The district was a poor one, as is shown by the note of the official, *nulli sunt nobiles habitantes in dicto communi*. The description of the father is *Guccius Poggii*, and his son is called *Poggius Guccii*. In all the early documents Poggio is described as Ser Poggio di Guccio, Ser Poggio de Terranova, etc. In the tax return for 1412 we find Poggio di Ghuccio di Poggio.⁴ In the register of his marriage (1436) and still later in the deed, when he was appointed Chancellor of Florence, he is still *Poggius Guccii*,⁵ without any mention of the Bracciolini. The first document in which he claims connexion with this noble house in his will, made in 1443, when he was 63 years of age.⁶ From this time onwards the name Bracciolini appears not infrequently—e.g. in a deed executed in 1457 he is termed *D. Poggio ol. Guccii de Bracciolinis Florentia*.⁷ The reticence, however, of the Signoria, on the occasion of his appointment as Chancellor in 1453, is very significant. I cannot but

conclude that Poggio acquired noble ancestors late in life, possibly at the instigation of his aristocratic wife. I, therefore, suggest that scholars should cease to call him Bracciolini, at any rate without Poggio, and give him the name under which he gained his reputation.

There are very few points to which objection may be raised. On p. 27 the Berlin MS. of Cicero's letters to Atticus, written by Poggio in 1408, is said to be a copy taken from the MS. discovered by Capra. This cannot be so, since Capra's MS. contained Books I.-VII. only.¹ It seems to have been a member of the Σ family, while the Berlin MS. belongs to the Δ group, and is connected with Med. 49. 18.²

On p. 56 the Madrid MS. of Manilius is called 'die Quelle aller Handschriften.' It is the parent of several fifteenth-century MSS., but there is a rival family represented by three MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which also have their descendants.³

On p. 105 there are two incorrect statements concerning the Cluni MS. of Cicero, viz. that the new speeches which it contained were the *pro Cluentio* and *pro Murena*, and that it was retained for many years by F. Barbaro. These are clearly due to accident, since on pp. 50, 58, the *pro Sex. Roscio* is coupled with the *pro Murena*, and it is rightly stated that the MS. lent to F. Barbaro contained Poggio's discoveries at Langres and Cologne. On p. 108 *Paedianus* is an incorrect spelling for *Pedianus*, as is shown by Silius Italicus, xii. 212.

In the account of Poggio's last phase (1458-9) no mention is made of Vaggia's death. It is only from the documents that we learn of her decease in February, 1458, *di infermita lunga*, and her burial in S. Croce. Her death must have been a great blow to her aged and ailing husband. It seems singular that nothing should be said in the text about this bereavement.

It will be gathered that Walser's

¹ P. 6.

² P. 1.

³ In the tax-collector's register for 1373, he is described as *spetiale* (p. 326). This is a new discovery. He was previously supposed to be a notary. Shortly afterwards Guccio became bankrupt and went to Arezzo, *colla donna e tre fanciulli* (p. 327).

⁴ P. 331.

⁶ P. 360.

⁵ Pp. 353, 382.

⁷ P. 407.

¹ *Cl. R.*, xxv. (1911), pp. 150-1.

² Sjögren, *Commentationes Tullianae*, pp. 25-36.

³ Garrod, *Manili Astronomicum*, Lib. ii., p. lv.

book is of primary importance for all students of the Italian Renaissance, and especially for those who are in-

terested in the transmission of Latin classical authors.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

THREE DIALOGUES OF SENECA.

L. Annaei Senecae Dialogorum Libri X., XI., XII.—Three Dialogues of Seneca. Edited by J. D. DUFF, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. lx+312. University Press, Cambridge, 1915. 4s. net.

THESE so-called dialogues, or epistolary essays as they might be termed, well deserve the excellent commentary now provided for them. It is a little difficult to realise that the whole of the nineteenth century produced no commentary upon their matter, though much was done for their text. The three are *Ad Paulinum*, 'On the Shortness of Life'; *Ad Polybium*, condolences sent to one of Claudius' freedmen on his brother's death; and *Ad Helviam*, a consolation to Seneca's mother on his own exile. All three possess a good deal both of Senecan and of human interest. The *De Breuitate Vitae* in particular is full of good sense and good taste. Unreal it may appear to be in its stock praises of philosophy and rather ill-considered in its proposal to draw Paulinus away from useful public service in managing the corn-supply; but it is a much better performance than Seneca's artificial consolations, and it has the saving grace of smart satire upon many a mode of wasting time, among which the more meticulous inquiries of pedants are included. There is much to prompt the belief that the essays and letters of Seneca might profitably be granted more place in the curricula of our University colleges.

A very useful Introduction discusses the subjects of the three books, their dates, the persons to whom they are addressed, and the Seneca family, with several incidental questions bearing on their times. A brief account is given of the extant MSS. and the history of the text. Mr. Duff's arguments, in opposition to most scholars, that the Marcus of the *Ad Helviam* is not Seneca's son but his nephew, young Lucan, will be found difficult to refute. It is by far

the most natural sense in which to take Seneca's words.

To the revision of the Text—never an easy task in Seneca—Mr. Duff has devoted much care, though he complains of having been misled into unnecessary labour by the absence in the latest Teubner edition of a distinct reference to the 1886 edition of the eminent Danish authority Gertz or to his *Critica Studia*, in which unforgettable services were rendered by Madvig's pupil to the text of Seneca. The omission is the more remarkable in that the Teubner editor mentions other publications by Gertz, and in his Preface I observe he says, 'Gertzio uero quid debeam unaquaque pagina ostendit.' Mr. Duff's apparatus criticus does not claim to be exhaustive, but it is a handy one in which the services of scholars of the past like Lipsius and Gronovius are recognised alongside of recent textual criticism. A little of Bentley's 'gold dust,' to adapt his own phrase about Pearson's writings, has been found in his Elzevir of 1672 and sprinkled—what little there was—all too sparsely in the critical notes; and the editor has made contributions of his own which are the fruits of mature study and deliberate judgment.

Among these latter is his attractive suggestion of '*nobilis uero ad nostrum arbitrium nasci licet*' for *nobis*, *Ad Paulin.* 15, 3; and at 17, 6 the likely restoration of *ibat*, a more suitable tense than the *ibit* of the MSS., which was probably assimilated by a copyist to the tense of *renocabitur* just preceding. In the same paragraph the editor reads '*Marium caliga dimisit, consulatus exercet*,' where his plural verb is no doubt historically exact, although the traditional singular *exercet* is quite good and clear rhetoric. In *Ad Polyb.*, 16, 3, the words *amisi sororem* form a reasonable insertion which the sense needs, and which must have fallen out before the following '*amisi Germanicum*.' On the other hand, in the next chapter,

17, 5, the acceptance of a foreign scholar's addition of *tondens* after the second *modo* seems to me more doubtful: there is a fair enough antithesis suggested in the reading of the MSS. 'modo barbam capillumque submittens, modo Italiae ac Siciliae oras errabundus permetiens,' i.e. 'now letting his beard grow (in token of mourning at home), now restlessly scouring the coasts of Italy and Sicily.' The reading adopted at *Ad Paulin.* 9, 1, 'potestne quicquam esse levius hominum eorum iudicio qui prudentiam iactant,' embodies neat suggestions by Professor Housman for rectifying an unsatisfactory sentence of the MSS. 'potestne quicquam sensus hominum eorum dico qui prudentiam iactant.' A glance at *Hermes'* Teubner edition will prove how copiously amended the passage has been—and how unconvincingly until now.

In the Notes, Mr. Duff brings to bear on the elucidation of his author's meaning and form of expression an admirable acquaintance with Seneca's extant works, and with other writers of the Early Empire. Great care is taken to explain and illustrate Senecan usages; and beginners in Silver Latin will find themselves constantly instructed as to contrasts with Ciceronian Latinity. Personally, I feel that in some of these notes the word 'classical' gets too narrow a connotation: e.g. on p. 273 it is stated that '*quibus... fuit*, being a causal sentence, would be *quibus... fuerit* in classical Latin'; and on p. 278 for *ipsis* it is said 'classical usage requires *sibi*.' I should not assent to the implication that Seneca is a non-classical author, and cannot see why in such cases reference is not simply made to 'the Latin of the Ciceronian age,' if that is what is meant. Historical allusions are amply elucidated and the instances pointed out where lapse of memory or excess of rhetoric has betrayed Seneca into inaccuracy. There is also much valuable light thrown on Roman life and society.

In the comment, *Ad Paulin.* 1, 1, upon *publico*, meaning 'universal,' I am not sure that it is right to say that 'Ovid begins the use'; for does not Horace's '*publica cura*' applied to the

bewitching Barine (*Od.* II. viii. 8) mean that she was the 'universal distraction' of the youth of Rome? To the passages cited, *Ad Paulin.* 2, 1, in illustration of 'in superuacuis laboribus operosa sedulitas,' or the pursuits of the busy triflers, there ought certainly to be added the amusing satire contained in *Phaedrus* II. v., where, besides the explicit mention of this precious tribe ('ardalionum quaedam Romae natio'), it is described in terms familiar to readers of this treatise by Seneca as 'occupata in otio.' The *nobiles equi* of *Ad Paulin.* 18, 4, in the sense of 'thoroughbred horses,' and their *generosa pernicitas* mentioned just afterwards, might well have been paralleled by the use of the Greek *γενναῖος* in such passages as that in which Socrates compares himself *ἵππῳ μεγάλῳ μὲν καὶ γενναίῳ*, *Apol.* 30. And in *Ad Paulin.* 20, 2 *corona* in the sense of a 'ring of listeners' should have had the older illustration of *Ovid Metam.* xiii. 1 cited ('consedere duces et vulgi stante corona,' etc.), especially as the phrase actually quoted from *Quintilian* (XII. x. 74, 'vulgi corona') is, I fancy, an echo of *Ovid*. If such additions are occasionally desiderated, they are here recorded only with a keen appreciation which a distant clansman may be permitted to express for the wide range of Mr. Duff's own parallels and illustrations; but much often wants more!

I should like to comment on two points of subject-matter in the *Ad Polybium*. The first is at 16, 5, where Fortune is said to 'venture upon entry even into those homes the approach to which lies through temples' ('eas quoque domos ausa... intrare in quas per templa aditur'). The meaning is in the note declared to be uncertain, and two explanations are offered. But there can be little doubt that the second is the correct one: Seneca must have had in mind Caligula's impious use of the temple of Castor and Pollux as a kind of vestibule to his palace, and Seneca, it may be remembered, mentions or alludes to Caligula several times in the treatise quite near this passage (e.g. 13, 1; 13, 4; 17, 3-6). The other point is at 8, 3, where I cannot help thinking that most scholars make too

much of Seneca's remark that the composition of fables of Aesopic type was 'intemptatum Romanis ingeniis opus.' Usually this is supposed to imply either a blissful ignorance or a deliberate ignoring of Phaedrus. I agree with the editor in rejecting Teuffel's idea that Seneca had never heard of the publication of Phaedrus's fables, for this is unbelievable in a man of his literary tastes even in exile; but I do not think it necessary as an alternative to believe that he 'wilfully ignores Phaedrus in order to pay an undeserved compliment to Polybius' (Introd., p. xxiii.). Seneca, it should be observed, is writing to a freedman of Greek or at least non-Roman origin, and quite accurately remarks that fable-writing had not been attempted by *Roman* intellects. In my opinion he remembered quite distinctly that Phaedrus had composed and published fables within recent years, but in addressing one who was either a Greek

or an Oriental he also remembered that Phaedrus was a Greek by birth and with intentional accuracy used the words 'intemptatum *Romanis* ingeniis opus.' The phrase may be taken in a perfectly complimentary sense without implicating Seneca in a falsehood. 'Fables,' he means, 'are a sort of literary work which we Romans have not tried.'

The statement (Introd., p. xxxv.) that Pliny's *Natural History* was written 'forty years after the exile of Seneca' is made with less than the editor's usual exactitude; and in the Preface, p. iv, the reference to p. lvii should be altered to p. lix. But it is not often that either editor or proof-reader can be impugned in this careful piece of work.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

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SHORT NOTICES

East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection. By CHARLES R. MOREY. University of Michigan Series. Vol. XII.: Studies in East Christian and Roman Art. Part I. Macmillan Company.

THOSE who have seen the facsimiles of Mr. Freer's biblical MSS. will know that they are a discovery of the first importance. This book contains plates of the covers of the Washington MS., with portraits of the four evangelists; the description attached is a summary of that printed with the Facsimile of the MS., which Mr. Freer has presented to the world of scholars. They are two boards joined by a leather back, to which chains have been added at a later date. John is almost erased; Mark is an elderly man, with grey hair, partly bald, and a long beard; Matthew and Luke, men in the prime of life, with black hair and beards. Of these, Mark seems to be a distinct Coptic type, while the others resemble the types known in Byzantium. Mark, it will be

remembered, was Bishop of Alexandria. All these paintings are later than the MS., which is of the fourth century or earlier.

From another MS., a cursive, of an Evangelium, Mr. Freer possesses five parchment leaves; eight miniatures are here reproduced in colours. There are portraits of Mark and John, the Descent from the Cross, the Descent into Hell, the Doubting of Thomas, Christ and the Holy Women, Madonna and the Saints. Mark is seated at a lectern on which perches a bird, probably meant for a dove, holding an open book; in the portrait of John, the bird is replaced by a human half-figure, holding an open book. It seems more likely that these figures represent the inspiring spirit dictating the gospel, than that they are symbols of the evangelists as the editor thinks. The next two scenes are carefully criticised by the editor, who gives a tabular analysis of a large number of parallels for comparison, and several pictures in the text.

Doubting Thomas is a rare scene in

art, and the Holy Women almost equally so. These and the Madonna are much damaged, but the two Descents are well preserved, and St. John is gracefully drawn, but most of the figures are formal and crude. One of the pages of the MS. is also given. The remaining plates are taken from a MS. of the Climax, with a portrait of St. John Climacus and the scene of the ladder. All these are discussed archaeologically.

The reproductions are wonderfully good, and the texture of the vellum, with its folds and stains, is clearly seen; the book is most valuable for students of Christian art, and we feel that America is fortunate in possessing a citizen of such munificence as Mr. Freer.

W. H. D. R.

Zur Textgeschichte Xenophons. Von AXEL W. PERSSON. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1915.

THE author has submitted to a searching and systematic investigation the text of (a) the papyri, and (b) of the *testimonia* in ancient and, to some extent, in medieval writers. Anyone who has had to deal with the text of Xenophon on a large scale will have discovered for himself how necessary this work was, and can realise also how great the labour must have been. I wish, without reserve, to offer my sincere congratulations to Dr. Persson on the accomplishment of a heavy task, and, still more, on the importance of the results at which he has arrived.

These results affect principally the text of the *Anabasis* and the *Cyropaedia*. Briefly, Dr. Persson shows that in the *Anabasis* the recent editors—that is Gemoll and myself—have been misled by Hug's *Commentatio de Xenophontis Anab. Codice*, C, i.e. *Parisinus*, 1640. Hug traced this MS. to a Byzantine original written between 870 and 911 A.D. He placed C upon a pedestal, and Gemoll, in his first edition, actually took C to be the one and only MS. worthy of attention. Against this one-sided admiration of *Parisinus* 1640 I raised a first protest (*Praef. Anab.* iv.); and Gemoll rewrote his apparatus for

his second edition, having in his first ignored the *deteriores*. But now comes Dr. Persson with the disquieting suggestion that the Paris MS., lately so trusted, is probably a Byzantine critical edition, and that the true text is something much more like that of the so-called *deteriores* than we have supposed. It is clear that, before future progress can be made with the text of the *Anabasis*, *Vaticanus* 1335 and *Marcianus* 511 must be collated. And I am convinced by Dr. Persson's arguments that in my edition the reading relegated to the critical notes ought in many cases to change places with the text.

In the *Cyropaedia* I had already pointed out (*Praef.* p. vii) that there are three groups of MSS. These are now conveniently labelled *x*, *y*, *z*. For practical purposes *x* is *Parisinus* 1640, for the Eton MS., which belongs to the same group, is of little account.

y = *Bodleianus* (Canonicus 39) and *Erlangensis*, *z* = *Escorialensis* t. iii. 14, *Parisinus* 1635 and *Guelpherbytanus* 71, 19. Dr. Persson shows clearly that the readings of *y* are most widely represented in the papyri and the citations, and less widely those of *z*. Of *x* there is no trace; and therefore *x* may be confidently declared the result of a Byzantine recension.¹ I cannot understand why Dr. Persson, who is for the most part scrupulously fair in his criticisms, even when he is severely trouncing Gemoll or me, or both of us, states repeatedly that my text is based on *x*. The whole of my preface, in which he points out many errors of detail, is devoted to proving the antiquity of *y* and to depreciating *x*. 'Eorum quae CE habent singularia neminem fugit quam exilia fuerint et incerta superiori memoria iudicia.' I had no clear opinion, to be sure, of the relative importance of *y* and *z*: but I did feel clear that *x* is below them in importance for the text. I thought when I finally read my text that I had not given enough weight to *y*; and I am sure of it after reading Dr. Persson.

E. C. MARCHANT.

¹ In what the author says about *Vaticanus* 1335 at p. 8 he seems to have forgotten that before V, 5, 35 only I, 4, 15 τὸν θῆρα to I, 6, 31 δικαιούνην is in the thirteenth-century hand.

Xenophontis qui inscribitur libellus 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία in usum scholarum Academicarum' edidit E. KALINKA. Leipzig: Teubner, 1914. M. 1.

IN his 'Praefatio' of some twenty-five pages M. Kalinka gives a careful account of the authorities, MSS. and editions; and the Greek text, with critical footnotes, occupies another twenty-five pages. That the text has received a deal of attention from philologists of bygone years is sufficiently shown by the footnotes, which, roughly speaking, take up nearly as much room as the text on every page. In the printing of the text the editor is decidedly conservative, adhering as closely as possible to the tradition, even where it is pretty clearly in need of correction. Thus in I. 5 the clause <ἡ> δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων ἐνίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων is evidently incomplete; in I. 14 the words ὅτι ἐκπλέοντες συκοφαντοῦσιν, ὡς δοκοῦσι κτλ. are open to grave suspicion, and 'EK' himself suggests in the footnote ὅτι οἱ πλέονες: again, in the same section, the words οἱ ἰσχυροί can hardly be right immediately after ἰσχύουσιν, and ἐχυροί is the editor's own suggestion. In these and many similar cases the editor contents himself for the most part with recording doubts and emendations in the notes, while retaining in the text the traditional version, with an occasional asterisk to denote corruption. This is undoubtedly the best, as well as safest, course in the case of a treatise like this, where the style is such that really certain corrections are not easy to find or to make. In II. 4 I venture a suggestion different from any of those recorded by M. Kalinka. The text runs—τοῖς ἀρχουσι τῆς θαλάττης ὁλόν τ' ἐστὶ ποιεῖν, ἅπερ τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐνίοτε, τέμνειν τὴν γῆν τῶν κρείττωνων: and it seems clear that the relative clause ought to be negative rather than positive in sense. Instead of inserting an

οὐ with Sauppe and others, we might insert ἄπορα after ἅπερ. Again in II. 17 perhaps the original ran something like this—ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐμμένωσι ταῖς συνθήκαις, ἡ <εἴση> ὑφ' οὗτοῦ ἀδικεῖ ἡ κοινὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ὀλίγων οἱ συνέθεντο. In conclusion, if only for its full and carefully wrought apparatus, this Teubner text is well worth acquisition by students of Xenophon and pseudo-Xenophons; while the observations of 'Xenophon' on 'thalattocracy' are of specially vivid interest for readers of to-day.

R. G. B.

Pōns Tīrōnum quem fecerunt R. B. APPLETON et W. H. S. JONES. Pp. 108. Londinii: apud aedes G. Bell et filiorum, 1914. Price 1s.

A FOURTH term book intended to familiarise the pupil with the simpler constructions of Latin syntax and thus form a bridge to the authors' *Puer Rōmānus*, a second year course in which more difficult sentence constructions are fully introduced. The subject-matter consists of 31 pages of narrative and descriptive prose put into the lips of a Roman boy with a view to giving some idea of Roman life, and is interspersed with illustrations, *domus, balneum, miles, convivae cenant, lectica, raeda, arator agrum arat, ludus litterarius*, etc. Thirty pages of exercises follow, some designed to help the pupil to assimilate the subject-matter, others to give practice in the constructions on which each section of the narrative is based. Reproductive and grammatical exercises, whether for classwork or homework, if they are to be of value, should be proportioned in difficulty to each stage of the text and should demand a real effort from the pupil. It must be noted with regret that in both these respects these exercises fail; they are far too easy.

F. M. P.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have received several numbers of *Iris*, the news-sheet of the Classical Association in Victoria, published monthly. It is now in its second year; and we are glad to see that there are meetings held

about every fortnight, with lectures or discussions. One of the sheets contains a translation of Horace iii. 9, 'into the American language.' We prefer Latin though it is said to be dead.

OBITUARY

ARTHUR FRANCIS LEACH.

THE death of Arthur Francis Leach is a great loss to the history of education in England. A Wykehamist and a Fellow of All Souls, he became an assistant Charity Commissioner in 1884. His work in connexion with endowed schools opened to him a field of inquiry which was largely unoccupied. His first publication dealt with English schools at the Reformation. His his-

tories of Winchester College and Warwick School are standard works, and his part in the Victoria County Histories corrected many current errors. Distrusting rash generalisations, he nevertheless established many general points, such, for instance, as the true meaning of a free school. He was by nature combative, but never to the point of obstinacy. His latest work, left unfinished at his death, is to be completed by another hand.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—An unintentional omission in my all too short review of Conway and Walters' *Livy I.-V.*, in the November issue, has been brought to my notice. I wish now to mention that a very large proportion of the work of colla-

tion for this volume was performed by the joint editor of the edition, Professor C. F. Walters, and that in the fixing of the text he was consulted throughout.—Yours faithfully,

A. SOUTER.

The University, Aberdeen.
November 27, 1915.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Botsford (G. W.) A Syllabus of Roman History. 7½" × 5". Pp. x + 72. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1915. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. II. Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Edited by J. de M. Johnson, Victor Martin, and A. S. Hunt. 12½" × 10". Pp. xx + 487, with 23 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1915. Cloth, 21s. net.

Iphigenia in Aulis (Choruses in). Translated by H. D. The Poets' Translation Series, No. 3. 6½" × 5". Pp. 20. London: The Egoist, 1915. 6d. net.

Lindsay (W. M.) Notae Latinae. An Account of Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of the early miniscule period (c. 700-850). 9" × 5½". Pp. xxiv + 500. Cambridge: University Press, 1915. Cloth, 21s. net.

Meillet (A.) Introduction à l'Étude Comparative des Langues Indo-Européennes (4^{me} édition). 9" × 5½". Pp. xxvi + 502. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1915. Fr. 10.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Part XI.). Edited, with Translations and Notes, by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. With seven collotype plates, 10½" × 7½". Pp. xii + 278. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915. Paper boards, 25s.

Ridgeway (W.) The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races, in special reference to the Greek Tragedy. 10" × 6½". Pp. xiv + 448. Cambridge: University Press, 1915. Cloth, 15s. net.

Sumerian Tablets from Umma in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Edited by C. L. Badale. 12½" × 10". Pp. xxiv + 16, with 10 plates. Manchester: University Press, 1915. Paper boards, 5s. net.

Theologisch Tijdschrift (1915). Aflevering VI. By B. D. Eerdmans. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh.

Thompson (J. A. K.) The Greek Tradition. Essays in the Reconstruction of Ancient Thought. With a Preface by Professor Gilbert Murray. 8" × 5½". Pp. xii + 248. London: Allen and Unwin, 1915. Cloth, 5s. net.

ERRATA.

P. 166, l. 22, for 'inexcusable' read 'excusable.'
P. 168, l. 27, for 'compounds' read 'components.'

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